

From Chambers' Journal.

## WOMEN'S HUSBANDS.

THE exigencies of life sometimes put the lords of creation into curious predicaments. It so happens that, with all the virtues of our present industrial arrangements, some men can do no good in the world. They try many things, and fail in all, although it is not always easy to see the cause of the failure. The wife has then, if possible, to come forward and undertake the duty of providing for the family, while the worthy man sinks of course into the subordinate position. A terrible time it is when these domestic revolutions take place; seldom short in duration, usually marked by many vicissitudes of rule, and ups and downs of fortune. A vexing problem, too, the superfluous husband usually is to the poor wife. The difficulty is, to get him made perfectly negative and neutral. He would fain be doing, were it only for a show—how to keep him idle! If kept idle, then how to occupy his energies innocuously to the concern in which the wife is engaged! Oh, a sad business it is to have a woman's husband in charge.

Women are naturally shrinking beings, prone to keep back amidst the obscurities of kitchens and parlors, while men rough it for them through the outer world. It requires, in general, the impulse of the affections to bring the gentler sex into public life or professional exertion. Of course there is nothing they will not do for their babes—nature has taken good care of that point. The upper classes, who never see women working but at gewgaws for ecclesiastical purposes, can little imagine what is in the heart of a poor wife in the middle ranks of society, when, after years of suffering, the consequence of failure on the husband's part to produce a livelihood, she comes out from her humble retirement, to struggle for dear life to her household. Duty, one would say, can never be a degradation; yet habits are a second nature, and to break through the fine veil of matronly privacy which she has been accustomed to draw between her and the world, cannot be unattended with pain. The reward afforded by the consciousness of performing a duty is confessedly sweet; yet who does not know that the world pays more homage to the dignity which has no duty to perform, than to the humility which knows nothing but duty on earth? Dear conventionalities, which we daily condemn, and momentarily worship, and evermore cling to! you it is which make it bitter for even a mother to battle for her sucklings. We verily believe the lioness herself, when she fronts danger for her cubs, has some sacrifice

of feeling to make. Even she must feel the false position.

But what use to talk! It is but a part of the tragic character ever mingling with this social life of ours, that beings born for all gentleness should occasionally be forced, weeping, trembling, oft looking back, into the *mêlée*, there to clutch at what they may get, in part for those who ought to be the means of sparing their cheeks from the too rough visits of the wind. No help for it. Our world says that a lady shall not even sit in a chair for herself if a man be by, yet leaves the same person to drudge unassisted for the mouthful required for herself and offspring, whether she be a widow, or, what is sometimes worse, a wife whose husband cannot gain her bread. There are her young ones—there the husband, willing perhaps, but inefficient—there the ill-replenished house, fast dimming in the cold shade of adversity. Friends worn out—how soon they wear! Debts pressing. Shades of "last resources" standing three deep, and not another substantial one in view. There is no longer any choice. If educated, she must take to schooling; if not, to some grosser business—keeping lodgers or boarders, or a shop, or an inn; things much to be determined by circumstances, as well as tastes. The first steps are usually the most difficult, not merely as regards means, but with respect to inclinations. After a commencement has been made, and some success attained, the pain deadens. Former connections cease to be remembered unpleasantly—the excitement of activity becomes its own reward—the mind gets accommodated more or less to its new conditions. Still there is much encountered and undergone which the world does not see; and of this the husband generally bears no small part.

It is bad enough when this personage is tolerably rational, and limits his ambition to keeping the books of the concern, and attending to such other little duties as he is fit for and his wife finds he may be intrusted with. Even in these favorable circumstances, it is not easy to keep him right, for he can scarcely fail to be the worse of the half idleness to which he must needs be assigned. If, indeed, he be an old man, he may walk genteelly about, haunt the reading-room, and talk learnedly of stocks and markets in which he has not one penny of interest. Sometimes he may be allowed to cater or act on little commissions, or even, completing the reversal of the sexes, take a general charge of the house, thus sparing time to his wife, which she may bestow upon her business. But never in any circumstances does

he prove otherwise than a source of anxiety and trouble. The fact is, he is no one thing rightly, and it is impossible to put him in his proper place. Servants, children, customers, all mistake him. He scarcely knows what he is himself, but only has a vague sense of being treated less reverently than is his due. The wife has therefore, in addition to all other duties, to manage her husband's self-respect. She must contrive to maintain a useless man, in the impression that he is useful. She must shape her own course, so as to prevent possibilities of his interfering with or thwarting it.

Matters are much determined by the degree of self-complacency possessed by the gentleman. It is to the last degree unfortunate if he be ill endowed in this respect, for then is he continually getting rubs, for which an incessant application of the soothing salve is necessary. If, on the contrary, on good terms with himself, there is comparatively little difficulty. He then feels as much master as ever. Sitting in his chair over his book or his newspaper, and emitting a word of sage advice or remark now and then, he believes that in reality he directs everything, while the lady is a mere instrument. Speaking of home affairs to any one else, he seems only to allow his wife to enter into certain engagements, in which he does not choose to interfere: it never appears as if she were in any respect the centre of the family system. As the children rise up, and take successively to industrious courses, they must all likewise become planetary to him. This kind of man maintains a dignified and gentlemanlike appearance before the world; no great freshness of attire perhaps, but a good presence and a clean neckcloth; always very well-bred, often a favorite, on account of his agreeable company. You might meet him frequently without ever supposing him to be anything but a gentleman possessed of a quiet little competency, who took to newspapers and constitutional walks from choice. On falling into conversation with him, you will find him more given to talk of public than of private matters. He speaks of "supporting" Sir Robert Peel, the reason being, that Sir Robert "is such a financier." Modern men of business he holds in something like contempt; they do not conduct matters in a gentlemanly way, all seeking to undersell each other. He worships some ideal, which the shabby practices of the world have not allowed him to reach. If you ever find out what he really is, you are left to infer that it is not he who is to blame for his not being a rich fellow enough.

In a large class of cases the woman's husband is a less estimable, or at least harmless, member of society. His constantly drinking his pocket-money may be the gentlest of his weaknesses. A tendency to make foolish intrusions upon his wife when she is engaged with those by whose patronage she gains the family bread—thus humiliating her in their eyes, and perhaps offending them—is

not the worst kind of action he is noted for. What struggles poor women often have to keep up decent appearances, and sustain their exertions, while secretly tormented with an indiscreet associate of this kind!—the story of the actor playing his part while the stolen fox was gnawing his bosom under his cloak, is but a type of the case. The little fabric of success, reared with labor and difficulty inexpressible, is continually liable to ruin at the hands of the domestic ogre, who himself perhaps enjoys the largest share of its results. He eats his bread and butter, and threatens the life of her who lays it before him. "Swamp the whole concern!" was the tipsy cry of such a man with reference to a little business which his wife carried on, and which somehow aggrieved him. We see here all the evils of lunacy, while yet the patient is not in a state which entitles others to reduce him to harmlessness. He must be flattered out of his maudlin furies, and allowed to have his will by way of bribery, when he ought rather to be manacled and strait-waistcoated. In his partner, all the time, there is one struggle going on in addition to all others, between the relics of old affection, or the sense of decency towards her children and the world, and the heaving throes of disgust at conduct from which her womanly worth and delicacy revolt. Hard, hard indeed is the fate of some women! To look at a gay assemblage of young ones, and think that some of these happy creatures are yet to groan out a weary life as the slaves of debased fatuous tyrants, with that terrible perplexity which arises in such circumstances from children—no help to be expected from any bystander, no more than to Sinbad when he was about to be lowered into the sepulchre with his dead wife—no relief to be looked for, till the weariness of woe shall sink her into the grave, a broken-down, unrecognizable thing; who, in doing so, can say that all our social arrangements are quite right? Who does not see the wrongs which the selfishness of society inflicts on individuals, or at least tolerates and sanctions for its own ends? Yet we talk of the martyr-burnings of former ages, as if all such sacrifices to mistaken views were past!

Perhaps existing circumstances in our island are not just to "women's husbands." Should we ever come to have a national guard, they would probably shine out in a very different light, being highly qualified to act the part of officers in such a band. In the event of a new organization of labor after the plans of Louis Blanc, they would be found not less qualified for the more conspicuous situations, being remarkably well adapted to work out the ideas of that Lilliputian philosopher. We would have the ladies to think of it, both on account of the pay, tending to lighten their own labors, and because nothing keeps the true "woman's husband" so well in temper, as to think he is doing something, while in reality he is doing nothing.

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## FIVE DAYS IN THE WILDERNESS OF NEW BRUNSWICK.\*

On the morning of the 5th of last November we were encamped on the line of survey in the Tobique district, about five miles from the Little Gulquac. At eight o'clock, the party having struck the tents, and got their several loads in readiness, commenced their day's march along the line, when I left them, as I usually did, for the purpose of examining the neighboring country. I took a course to the westward for about half a mile, behind a small mount, from the top of which I was led to expect an excellent view of the surrounding country, as observations from it of distant mountain heights had already been made by the surveying party during the summer's operations. After making a few notes and sketches, I went to the top of the hill, where I remained for a short time similarly employed. I next descended, with the intention of regaining the line of survey, and joining the party. This, however, I found to be no such easy matter. The country in this neighborhood has to an immense extent been laid waste by extensive fires, and the trees, and even the soil, in some places are so thoroughly burnt up, that there is not a vestige of vegetation to be seen; in others, the naked trunks of trees are left standing, like the grim ghosts of a stately forest race, charred by fire, or blanched by the storm; or they are tossed by the whirlwind into the most frightful heaps of confusion. These are termed "windfalls," and form some of the most formidable barriers to the progress of the traveller of the wilderness.

The surveyed line through this section of country, owing to the facts above stated, was merely traced out with small stakes, placed at long intervals, which, having become dark and discolored, could scarcely now be distinguished from the surrounding dead-wood. I was not then in the least disconcerted at failing to find the line, but continued to advance in the direction which I knew it to take, stopping from time to time to make sketches and observations as before. As it was now getting late in the afternoon, and I felt confident I had gone quite as far as the party were likely to have advanced in their day's march, I again made an effort to discover them, by traversing the country both to the right and left for a considerable distance, whooping as loud as I possibly could: but all in vain; I could neither hear nor see anything of them. Very little more than half a mile from where I stood I recognized a rocky height from which I had the year before made some observations, and immediately proceeded thither, in the hope of being able to discover from it the smoke of the camp. On reaching the summit, there stood the post which I had placed for my instrument exactly as I had left it a year ago. I carefully scanned the face of the country round in every direction, but the anxiously-looked-for

smoke was nowhere to be seen; and I was at last most reluctantly compelled to relinquish my hope of finding the party for that night at least.

Not knowing whether the surveyed line lay to my right or left, I resolved on taking the direction in which I thought there was least personal risk, and therefore lost no time in getting on a line which had been run by my directions the year before, along which I kept to the northward, as in case I did not in the mean time cross either the other line or tracks of the party, I should have at least made some progress towards Campbell's, the nearest settlement on the Tobique. I continued to press forward without discovering the objects of my search. I had reached the Beaver Brook, a branch of the Wapaskiagan, when night overtook me, and it commenced to rain. It was now quite certain that for one night I must forego the comforts of food, fire, or shelter—having at the same time no doubt of my easily reaching Campbell's some time next day. My situation at that time, although but the commencement of my disaster, was one of no ordinary suffering. I had had already undergone nearly twelve hours of the most harassing fatigue, without food or a moment's rest; and now, cold and wet, stood alone amid wind and rain, in a sterile and shelterless wilderness, and on a night so dark, that the very sky seemed black. What was to be done? To follow a course, and move forward in the dark, I knew was impossible. There were thirteen long hours until daylight, yet I dared not lie down to rest for fear of perishing. I at length resolved to endeavor to follow the course of the brook, in doing which, I had difficulties to surmount which would, I have no doubt, appear to many almost like impossibilities, even by daylight. Such a night of falls, wounds, bruises, scratchings, and fatigue is, I confess, beyond my powers of description. On the morning of the 6th, I found I had got to within a short distance of the mouth of the brook, which I crossed, intending to follow down the Wapaskiagan river, until I came to a lumber road I had travelled the year before, leading by Shea's Mountain to the Campbell settlement, on the Tobique river. The waters were now much swollen, so that I could only scramble along a very steep bank, thickly wooded with underwood and trees. I had gone some distance down, when, thinking that a little way back from the bank of the river I might probably find the travelling easier, I took that direction, and again found myself in a seemingly open country of burnt lands. The surrounding highlands were distinctly seen on all sides in the distance, and amongst the most conspicuous was Shea's Mountain, which led me to the resolution of taking a direct course for it, not dreaming of the formidable difficulties I should have to encounter on the way. I toiled on with determined perseverance through a dreadful combination of windfalls, marsh, lakes, streams, &c., so that another day was nearly spent before I had reached the mountain. I at length found the lumber road, and now considered myself safe, and

\* The hero of these adventures is Mr. John Grant, employed in the Halifax and Quebec railway exploration survey.



my journey nearly at an end, being only four miles from the settlement; but I reckoned without my host. I followed the road for a short distance, until I came to an old lumber camp and road leading off to the left, which I examined, and unfortunately rejected, as it appeared to pass on a different side of the mountain to that which I knew the proper road to take. From that moment I continued to go astray.

On travelling a little way further, I came to a second old lumber camp, where the road again branched into two. A snow-storm had now commenced, and night was once more fast approaching. On going about a mile and a half down one of the roads, I did not like its appearance, and returning, followed the other, which I found equally unsatisfactory, as it did not much resemble the road I had travelled during the summer of last year. I, however, endeavored to console myself with the probability of the difference in its appearance being caused by its covering of snow.

I continued to travel for some miles through a low marshy ground, until I became quite convinced of my being in a strange part of the country; when I returned, with the intention, if possible, of regaining the old lumber camp before dark, and passing the night in it; but the night came upon me so suddenly, that I had only time to go a little way to the right, where the ground was higher, and less swampy, and take up my quarters in the shelter of some low bushes, a few branches of which I threw on the ground before lying down. I need scarcely say I was wet, cold, hungry, and much fatigued, having now continued to walk without interruption for upwards of thirty-five hours. On lying down, I got into rather a distressing sort of slumber, from which I in a short time awoke, with much pain in my limbs and back, and stiff with cold. I got up and walked about, until once more overcome with fatigue, when I again lay down, to endure a repetition of my sufferings; and in this way passed a dreadful night of about thirteen hours. On the morning of the 7th, as soon as it was sufficiently clear, I left my wretched couch, shivering with cold, and by no means refreshed after my fatigue. I was nevertheless in tolerable spirits, not considering myself lost, and feeling assured that within a few hours at least I should once more be in comfortable quarters.

The cravings of hunger were now becoming excessive, and not even a berry was to be seen with which I might allay them. The weather throughout had been, and still continued, dark, and the only compass then in my possession I had long considered as useless; I, however, took off the glass, with the hope of repairing it, but my hands had become so benumbed with cold, that the needle slipped from my fingers amongst the long grass, and I was unable, after the most diligent search, to recover it. I now found that both the roads leading from the lumber camp again united, and resolved to continue the one I had been following, under the impression that it must bring me out

somewhere on the Tobique. For a considerable distance it traversed a low marshy district, where I found it very difficult to follow, being sometimes up to my knees in water. After a march of several hours, I came to a *timber brow*, on a river which appeared of doubtful size for the Tobique; but as of course my route lay down the stream, I, under a gradual mustering of doubts and fears, continued my journey in that direction.

I had felt, without at that moment comprehending them, very evident symptoms of approaching weakness. I frequently heard the sound of voices quite distinctly, and stopped to listen. I whooped! but not a sound in reply. The stream murmured on its bed, the wind rustled amongst the leaves, or whistled through the long grass; but that was all; everything else was silent as the grave. In a short time after, a most extraordinary illusion occurred. My attention was first attracted by distinctly hearing a tune whistled in the direction of the river; and, on looking round, I saw through the trees an Indian with two squaws and a little boy. My joy at the sight may be readily conceived: their canoe, I thought, could not be far off; and I already fancied myself seated in it, and quietly gliding down the river. I hallooed! but to my utter amazement, not the slightest notice was taken, or reply made. The Indian, with folded arms, leant against a tree, and still continued to whistle his tune with philosophic indifference. I approached, but they receded, and appeared to shun me; I became annoyed, and persisted, but in vain, in trying to attract their notice. The dreadful truth at length flashed upon my mind; it was really no more than an illusion, and one of the most perfect description. Melancholy forebodings arose. I turned away, retraced my steps, and endeavored to think no more of it. I had turned my back upon the vision, but as I retreated, its accompaniment of ghostly music for some time continued to fall upon my unwilling ear like a death-knell. A sort of mirage next appeared to me to spread over the low grounds, so completely real in its effect, that frequently, when expecting to step over my boots in water, I found that I was treading upon long *dry grass*: to be convinced of the truth of which, I frequently felt with my hand. My first vision was undoubtedly the result of *delirium tremens*, brought on by exhaustion; but whether the latter arose from the same cause, or from real external phenomena, I cannot well determine.

I continued my toilsome journey along the alternately flat and tangled, or precipitous banks of the river, which, from being now swollen, left me no beach to travel on. I crossed a large brook, which, mistaking it for the Odell, led me to suppose myself but a very little way from the settlement, (in reality, upwards of twelve miles off.) I had not advanced a great way further, until I suddenly dropped down. Supposing I had merely tripped and fallen, I got up, and endeavored to continue my march, but again staggered and fell. I got up a second time, and leaning against a tree, in the hope of recovering from what I at first imagined to be temporary



indisposition, again made several fruitless attempts to walk, until at last the appalling fact forced itself upon me, that I had really lost my strength; and as any further exertions of my own were now impossible, my case was indeed hopeless, unless discovered by some of the party, who I had no doubt were by this time in search of me; or, what certainly did appear improbable, by some persons going up the stream to lumber. Under the circumstances, I thought it best to endeavor to regain the banks of the river; but owing to my weak and disabled condition, I could scarcely do more than drag myself along on my hands and knees, and was consequently overtaken by the night and a sharp frost. I took shelter behind the roots of a fallen tree, and pulled off my boots, for the purpose of pouring out the water, and rendering my feet as dry as I could make them, to prevent their being frozen; after which, from my feet being much swollen, I found it quite impossible to get them on again. I lay down, excessively fatigued and weak; yet other sensations of suffering, both mental and physical, kept me, through another dreary night of twelve or thirteen hours, in a state which some may possibly conceive, but which I must confess my inability to describe. There was a sharp frost during the night, against which my light jacket and trousers were but a poor protection. On the morning of the 8th, when it was sufficiently clear, I discovered that I was not more than a hundred yards from the bank of the river. On endeavoring to get up, I was at first unable, and found both my feet and hands frozen; the former, as far as my ankles, felt as perfectly hard and dead as if composed of stone. I succeeded however, with a good deal of painful exertion, in gaining the bank of the river, where I sat as long as I was able with my feet in the water, for the purpose, if possible, of extracting the frost. The oiled canvass haversack in which I carried my sketching-case I filled with water, of which I drank freely. The dreadful gnawings of hunger had by this time rather subsided, and I felt inclined to rest. Before leaving the bank of the river, I laid hold of the tallest alder near, and drawing it down towards me, fastened my handkerchief to the top, and let it go. I also scrawled a few words on two slips of paper, describing my situation; and putting each into a piece of slit stick, threw them into the stream. I next moved back a little way amongst the long grass and alders; and striving to be as calm and collected as my sufferings and weakness would allow, I addressed myself to an all-seeing and merciful Providence, and endeavored to make my peace with Him, and place myself entirely at His disposal—feeling assured that whatever the issue might be, whether for time or eternity, it would undoubtedly be for the best. I trust I was not presumptuous, but I felt perfectly calm and resigned to my fate.

I lay down amongst the long wet grass, having placed my papers under my head, and my haversack, with some water, near my side. My weakness seemed to favor the most extraordinary cre-

ations of the brain. I became surrounded, especially towards evening, with a distinct assemblage of grotesque and busy figures, with which, could I have seen them under different circumstances, I should have been highly amused. Yet do I believe them to have been a great relief from the utter loneliness that must otherwise have surrounded me, as it really required an effort to establish the truth of my being alone. I passed another long and dreary night; and from its being rather milder, had some little sleep, although of a distressing and disturbed nature, and not in the least refreshing. The morning of the 9th arrived, and I could then with difficulty support myself even on my knees. Still, after extraordinary exertions, I procured a fresh supply of water, and lay down—I thought most likely never to rise again. A violent burning sensation in the stomach had now come on. A few mouthfuls of water allayed it, but brought on violent spasms for five or ten minutes, after which I had, for a little while, comparative relief. In this state, gradually growing weaker, I continued until the morning of the 10th. During the night it rained in torrents, which, although in some respects inconvenient and disagreeable, had in a great measure drawn the frost from my feet and hands, which, as well as my face, had become very much swollen.

In the course of the morning I thought I heard the sound of voices. I raised my head a little from the ground—all I could now accomplish—and looking through the alders, I saw a party of men and some horses on the opposite side of the river, and scarcely a hundred yards distant from where I lay. My surprise and joy were of course excessive; yet I had of late seen so many phantoms, that I was quite at a loss whether to consider it a reality or not. When at length convinced, I discovered, alas! that both my strength and voice were so completely gone that I could neither make myself seen nor heard. All my exertions were unavailing; and my horror and disappointment may be readily conceived at seeing them depart again in the direction from which they had come. I had now given up all hope, and once more resigned myself to my apparently inevitable fate. Three hours had passed, when I again thought I heard the sound of horses' feet on the bed of the river. On looking up, I saw they had returned to the same spot. My efforts to make myself heard were once more renewed, and I at last succeeded in producing a howl so inhuman, as to be mistaken by them for that of a wolf; but on looking up the stream, they saw my handkerchief, which I had fastened to the alder, and knowing me to have been missing before they left the settlement, surmised the truth, and came at once to my assistance. I was taken into a cabin built at the stern of the tow-boat, in which there was a small stove. There they made a bed for me, and covered me with blankets and rugs. They made me a sort of soup with bread and sugar, which they offered me some potatoes. I declined their kind offer, but begged to have a little tea, which they

me, and I went to sleep. The tow-boat had to continue her voyage some distance up the river with her freight, after which we returned, and got to Campbell's late in the afternoon, where I met with every kindness and attention. The house of Mr. Campbell, to which I was brought, was but a very ordinary log-house, yet with all its simple homeliness I felt quite comfortable, seeing I was surrounded with the most perfect cleanliness; and the good dame was, from long experience, well skilled as to the case she had to deal with, at the same time saying mine was much the worst she had ever had under her care.

I have thus endeavored to give an imperfect sketch of my wanderings during the period of more than five days and nights, without either food, fire, or shelter from the inclemency of the weather. My recovery has been rapid; although I at first suffered a good deal, both from the returning circulation in my hands and feet, and after partaking of food. I was in a few days sufficiently well to be removed down to the mouth of the river Tobique, where I found my poor wife anxiously awaiting my arrival. I must, in conclusion, say that my wonderful escape ought at least to convince me that God is ever merciful to those who sincerely put their trust in Him.

From Chambers' Journal.

#### A REMINISCENCE OF THE MIAMI EXPEDITION.

It is now a good many years—so many, indeed, that we are hardly inclined to acknowledge having accompanied the expedition in connection with which the circumstances we are about to relate took place, as we are still upon the list of bachelors—since the United States government found it necessary to despatch a considerable military force, under the command of General Wayne, to repress the incursions of the Indians who occupied the hunting-grounds contiguous to the north-western frontier of the territory of the republic. The troops consisted of a couple of battalions of regulars and a large number of volunteers, who joined them from their respective townships as they passed along towards the point of concentration—each of the states exposed to the ravages of the Red Men contributing its quota. Having arrived near the scene of action towards the close of autumn, the commander encamped on the northern bank of the Ohio river, within a short distance of the line which bounds, on the western side, the state which bears the same name, and resolved to spend the winter in the discipline of his new levies, with the view of taking the field in the highest possible state of organization early in the ensuing spring, and then deciding the matter at a blow. The result attested the wisdom of this course and the accuracy of his calculations, as the campaign <sup>was</sup> almost be said to have been confined to the <sup>search</sup> <sup>for</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>victory</sup> obtained on the Miami of the roads led. <sup>and</sup> <sup>resolved</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>evening</sup>, some weeks before the force <sup>ing</sup>, under the <sup>at</sup> the place where it subsequently

took up its winter-quarters, the sounds of angry altercation might have been heard issuing from a group of four individuals, who stood in front of a block-house in a recently cleared patch of ground, at no great distance from the town of —, in the state of Tennessee. One of the four was an Indian; of the others, two were young white men, of slender, but hardy and active make; whilst the third, likewise a white man, was evidently the senior of his companions by probably a score of years, and the possessor of a frame whose towering height and brawny and muscular proportions contrasted strikingly with the light and agile forms of the other individuals of the group. The contrast presented in this particular, however, was not more striking than that which existed between the gloomy and vindictive scowl which lowered on his naturally sombre countenance, and the open and honest frankness displayed in the features, though now lighted up with indignation, of at least that portion of the remainder of the party who were his kin in point of color.

"I tell you what, my lads," exclaimed the ominous-looking individual in deep and threatening tones, "one word for all; the shooting-iron's mine by lawful barter; and what's mine I mean to keep, until I meet a better man than myself to take it from me—and I reckon that's neither Charley Simmonds nor Chingowska."

"Either of us is as good, so far as manhood goes," replied the young man named as Charley Simmonds; "and the worst of us is far better, if honesty is to be taken into the account. As for the barter you speak of, I suppose it is about as lawful an affair as that with the Green Mountain carrier whom you persuaded to swap his team of oxen against your horse, that he never saw, on your swearing that he was free from disease, leaving him to find out afterwards that the beast had broken his neck down the Sandstone Cliff a week before."

"I make some allowance for your feelings, Charley," rejoined the former speaker, "in regard of my having got inside you in the good-will of Sally Benton; but I don't usually bear so much stirring up, and take it so quietly; so leave off while the play is good, if you're fond of yourself."

"Keep less talk about Sally Benton!" exclaimed with great warmth the white man who had not hitherto spoken, and who was brother to the young woman referred to. "She does not like a bone in your body; and if she did, her friends might like to know whether a man that deserted his wife and three children a couple of years ago in Jefferson county is any acquaintance of yours, or whether you ever heard of a sheriff's officer who was found about the same time with a hole through his head that never came there by nature, and that was as like one that a piece of ragged lead would make as the description I got of one Sam Staples, who made himself rather scarce in that clearing just after the occurrence, is like the man that calls himself Bill Tuckett. My

ears were not closed when I was down east last fall; so take yourself along more quietly, and look out for a wife somewhere else than in the family of Sally Benton, Master Bill Tuckett, or Sam Staples, whichever you choose to call yourself."

Astonishment, consternation, and rage, were successively depicted in the countenance of the man calling himself Bill Tuckett, who had but recently come to settle in that neighborhood, representing himself as an unmarried man. For several seconds he glared in silent passion on his accuser, and seemed for a time as if about to rush upon him and rend him in pieces on the spot. After a mighty struggle with himself, however, he succeeded in mastering every external appearance of emotion, and even smiled grimly as he replied, "If you had a beard upon your face, young fellow, you might find me dangerous to be talked to after that style. Meantime, I don't like to have my dander ris by a boy that's only fit to be whipped by his mother; so I wish you good-night." So saying, he turned on his heel and entered the block-house.

As he passed through the doorway, Charley Simmonds called aloud after him, "I say, Bill Tuckett, don't suppose you are going to make your own of Chingowska's rifle so easily. When we return from the west, you'll hear more about it."

No answer was returned. After a brief pause, the young men, with their red companion, left the spot, and proceeded in the direction of the town.

Before they were quite lost to view in the distance, the gigantic frame of Tuckett again appeared in the doorway. The blackness of the thunder-cloud brooded on his countenance as he gazed on their retiring forms in silence for some moments. Then fiercely shaking his clenched fist towards the quarter they had taken, and perhaps unconsciously giving audible expression to his feelings, he exclaimed, "Ay, when you 'return from the west;' but it shall be my care that you *don't* return. No half measures will answer now. The stories that your friend has taken the trouble of collecting down east will cost you all dear out west. 'T is your blood or mine!"

Had the feelings of the soliloquizer been less excited by his theme, he might have detected at this moment a rustling in the underwood, in which the block-house was partly embosomed, which could not have proceeded from the wind, as not a breath of air was stirring. His faculties, however, were wholly absorbed by the subject of his passion, and after a brief interval, he again disappeared in the house. The next moment a young lad, brother to Charley Simmonds, and his junior by three or four years, emerged from the thicket, and keeping the rear of the building, made his way in the same direction as that already pursued by the other members of the party. He had accidentally been passing at a short distance from the spot, when he was attracted by the sound of voices engaged in angry altercation, as already described, when his youthful curiosity stimulated him to approach and listen, availing himself of the conceal-

ment afforded by the bushes. He had been about to withdraw, when Tuckett reappeared, and uttered the ominous language just quoted, every syllable of which, amid the stillness and solitude of the place, was borne distinctly to the ears of the listener. He determined of course to take the earliest opportunity of informing his brother of the circumstance, and placing him and his friends on their guard against any treachery that Tuckett might contemplate. A slight alteration of their arrangements, however, of which he remained in ignorance until too late, rendered any communication between them impossible.

All the individuals whom we have introduced to the reader were included among the volunteers who were to join from that township the expedition under General Wayne. The comparatively tender age of the younger Simmonds was not considered a fact of sufficient importance to prevent the gratification of his wish to be allowed to make one of their number, as—though his strength was not yet sufficiently matured for a hand-to-hand struggle—like most of the frontier lads of his years, he was already familiar with the crack of the rifle, and had more than once drawn a trigger on active service. Local circumstances had induced the arrangement, that the party should start for the place of rendezvous in two separate detachments, the first of which, including the four first-named individuals—for the Red Man belonged to a friendly tribe, and spent nearly as much of his time in the settlement as on the prairie, and consequently accompanied, as a matter of course, his white friends on the expedition against their common enemy—was to set out on the following morning; and the second, to which the younger Simmonds was attached, in the course of the subsequent week. The altercation we have described, however, rendering the young men little disposed to hold companionship with Tuckett during a march that must occupy from seven to ten days, they resolved on starting that very evening, so as to keep constantly in advance of the party in whose company he was to travel. Accompanied, therefore, by their Indian ally, and some two or three of their more intimate associates, to whom the project was communicated, the little band commenced their journey, and had accomplished nearly a score of miles, when they halted to "camp" for the night. Of this anticipation of their original plan the brother of Charley Simmonds was in ignorance, until, on seeking him, for the purpose of acquainting him with the threat which Tuckett had made use of, he learned that he had already departed.

It is necessary here to explain the original cause of the quarrel of which we have described a part. In the summer of the preceding year, the skill and daring of Chingowska, at extreme peril to his own life, had saved that of an English gentleman who was hunting on a distant prairie, when under the very tomahawks of half-a-dozen warriors of a hostile tribe. The grateful Englishman would have been profuse in his liberality towards his gallant deliverer, but the latter would accept of little in



the shape of reward. One article, however, in the possession of the former had excited his admiration, and it was evident he regarded it with a longing eye. This was a London rifle, of superior finish and workmanship, which carried a ball half as large again as the ordinary American rifle; and which, sending the deadly missile to the mark with equal accuracy, was certain to bring the game to the ground with a mortal wound at a range so great, that the very best weapon the Indian had ever seen in use on the frontier before would fail to break the skin at a similar distance. Of course the gun, with the bullet-mould, and every other necessary implement connected with it, at once became the property of Chingowska, with the addition of a quantity of powder and lead, and a considerable sum of money. Of the latter, the unfortunate Red Man, like most of his race when similarly circumstanced, spent a part in dissipation among the settlements, and suffered himself to be speedily cheated of the remainder. Fully appreciating, however, the value of his rifle, and its vast superiority to anything of the kind to be met with in the backwoods, he resisted every inducement to part with it in the way either of purchase or exchange, though numerous and tempting offers were made to him upon the subject. But poor Chingowska had his weakness. The fatal vice, the parent of all the follies, misfortunes, and crimes which have almost swept the once noble race to which he belonged from the face of the earth, is a fondness for strong drink. To procure this, Chingowska had already parted with everything but his beloved rifle. On the evening previous to that on which the dispute we have described took place, Tuckett invited him to his block-house to partake of some rum. The unsuspecting Indian readily fell into the snare. His treacherous host plied him with drink until he sunk in utter insensibility upon the floor; and on his restoration to consciousness at an advanced hour the following day, he was informed, in reply to his inquiry for his rifle, which had disappeared, together with his bullet-mould, that he had agreed the previous evening to dispose of it in barter for the rum which he consumed, and a worthless old shot-gun, which his deceitful entertainer now tendered him. Of course the indignation of the poor defrauded Red Man was excessive; but as Tuckett was prepared for this, and treated his remonstrances with contempt, he was compelled to leave the place without his prized weapon, and carry his complaint to his friends Simmonds and Benton, with whom he had often traversed the forest and the prairie either in the pursuit of game, or on the trail of the hostile Indian. In company with them, he had the subsequent fruitless interview with Tuckett, the particulars of which have been detailed.

On the following morning, the remainder of the first detachment of volunteers commenced their march, and reached General Wayne's encampment in due course, the half dozen who preceded them having arrived on the previous evening. At the

appointed time, the second party, including young Tom Simmonds, started for the camp, which they reached without the occurrence of any event essentially connected with the thread of our narrative.

Of course, the first inquiry of Tom Simmonds, on his arrival, was for the quarters of his brother. What was his consternation on being told in reply that his brother and Chingowska were condemned to death by a court-martial for the murder of Dick Benton, whose dead body had been found in the wood a couple of miles beyond the lines, and that the sentence was to be carried into execution at daybreak on the following morning!

On recovering from the first stunning shock of the intelligence, he flew at once to the hut in which the condemned men were confined. On attempting to enter, he was repulsed by the sentry, and informed that none could be admitted without an order from the officer who had presided at the court-martial before which they had been tried. To seek him out, and obtain the necessary order, occupied a considerable time, and fearfully abridged the period which intervened before the hour at which the sentence was to be carried into execution; reducing to narrow limits, indeed, the space in which alone any effort could be made to avert the frightful doom. It is unnecessary to say that the idea of the remotest possibility of his brother's guilt never once entered the mind of Tom Simmonds.

We need not dwell on the meeting of the brothers. Though the heart of each was full, there was no time for the indulgence of idle lamentation or useless expressions of sorrow, if any exertion was to be made in behalf of the condemned. Tom was soon made acquainted with all the circumstances of the case. The body of Benton had been found by some of the men who had gone out in pursuit of game, in the edge of a dense wood, cold and stiff, having evidently been lifeless for several hours. It displayed two wounds, the least of which was mortal. One was a bullet wound right through the body; the other was a tomahawk wound in the head, so deep that it was evident the axe must have penetrated the skull of the victim to *the very eye of the weapon*. What caused the names of Charley Simmonds and Chingowska to be first connected with the murder was the fact, that immediately after the discovery of the body, a rumor was found to pervade the camp that, on the very night previous to that day, a violent quarrel had taken place between them and the deceased, which had been overheard to result in mutual threats of violence and revenge. This was considered sufficient to fix suspicion on them, and justify their being placed under arrest. At the examination which ensued, the accused men both solemnly denied, not only that an angry word had ever passed between them and the deceased, but that they had been beyond the lines on that side of the camp since their arrival at all. At this stage of the proceedings, however, one of the party who had discovered the body produced

a strip of fur, a few inches in length, which had been found within a few feet of the spot on which the murder was committed, and which, on being now examined, was found to correspond precisely with a spot from which a similar piece had evidently been recently torn on the hunting-shirt of Charley Simmonds, the edges of which were trimmed with fur of a similar description. In fact, no doubt could be entertained that it was the identical piece which had been torn from his garment; nor did he attempt to question the fact himself, though quite unable to explain how it came to be found at the scene of the murder. Another of the men now produced a wampum belt, which he stated he had found in the wood not twenty yards from the same spot, but which he had not thought of connecting in any way with the tragical occurrence, until the circumstance of the strip of fur suggested the idea. A single glance at the Indian served to discover that his wampum belt was gone, and his knife and tomahawk suspended from a canvass girdle, which a score of witnesses were ready to prove had not been the case on the preceding day. Poor Chingowska at once recognized his belt, but could furnish no other account of its disappearance from his person than the statement that, having obtained rum from some of the men on the previous evening, he had fallen asleep in a state of intoxication, and missing his belt on awaking, had substituted the canvass one which he now wore.

The result of the examination was the appointment of a court-martial for the trial of Simmonds and his red friend for the murder. The circumstances above detailed were adduced for the prosecution, and the prisoners were called on for their defence. It was simple, and consisted of a denial of having ever had a quarrel with the deceased, and of having been in the vicinity of the scene of the tragedy at all. The rumor of the quarrel having been traced to its source, it was ascertained that Bill Tuckett had, on the night previous to the day on which the murder was committed, observed to a comrade that he feared some bad work would follow from the bitter language and violent threats which he had overheard proceeding from the occupants of a hut, which he pointed out as he was passing along to his own quarters. He did not appear at the time to know who the parties were by whom the hut was occupied, but said that the voices seemed somewhat familiar to his ear, though, from the excited tone in which they spoke, he could not recognize them with sufficient distinctness to name the speakers. Being called on for his evidence at the court-martial, he deposed to precisely the same effect, declining to swear that the voices he heard were really those of the three individuals in question, but pointing out the hut which they had occupied as that from which the sounds had issued; the prisoners themselves admitting that they and their late unfortunate comrade had been its sole occupants from nightfall until sunrise. In support of their denial of ever having had a quarrel, as de-

scribed, with the deceased, they could therefore furnish no evidence whatever; their own statement to that effect of course going for little against the testimony of a disinterested person. In support of their statement that they had not been in the vicinity of the place in which the murder had been committed, however, Tuckett was recalled, and asked by the prisoner Simmonds whether he had not returned within the lines at an early hour in the afternoon of the day in question, accompanied by Chingowska, passing close by the spot where he, Tuckett, was standing on guard at the *northern* extremity of the camp, whereas the body of the deceased was discovered nearly two miles distant from the *southern* extremity? This circumstance, if proved, would have been strong presumptive evidence in their favor when the particulars of time and distance were taken into calculation; but the reply of Tuckett at once decided the case.

"Sorry I can't help my friends at a pinch," said he; "but no man passed my post entering the camp whilst I was on guard that day."

The surprise of Simmonds was unbounded at this answer; and even Chingowska, who had long been schooled into the habitual control of every symptom of emotion on critical occasions, displayed some marks of astonishment. But the effect produced on the court was fatal to the cause of the prisoners. The apparent scrupulosity of Tuckett in declining to swear positively that the voices which he had heard raised in anger, and the utterance of threatening language, were actually those of the prisoners and the deceased, had disposed the judges to attach considerable weight to his testimony; and the directness and distinctness of his reply to the last question, naturally bore down, in their estimation, all the protestations of the accused to the contrary. The circumstance of an article of the dress of each having been found within a short distance of the body of the murdered man, with whom it was believed they had just quarrelled, and against whom they had indulged in threats of vengeance, would, of itself, have weighed heavily against them; but when to this was added the damning fact of their having attempted to establish an *alibi*, which was disproved by the very witness whom they cited in its support, the court had little hesitation in coming to the conclusion that they were guilty of the crime laid to their charge, and sentencing them to undergo the punishment of death. The evidence was submitted to General Wayne in due course, who approved of and confirmed both the finding and the sentence.

Having made his brother acquainted with these details, Charley Simmonds stated that the most unaccountable and mysterious circumstance in the entire transaction, he considered to be the answer of Tuckett to his question concerning his having passed him while on guard; as not only must he have seen him, but he had actually replied to a word of salutation which Simmonds addressed to him in passing—Chingowska passing him in silence, in consequence of the affair concerning the

rifle. The allusion to the rifle immediately recalled the threat of Tuckett to the memory of Tom, the relation of which seemed to Charley to throw a new light on the whole procedure. The hope of life again sprung up within his bosom; a variety of suggestions were proposed and rejected; and Tom at length departed to carry into execution the only plan which held out a possibility of averting the threatened doom of the condemned, and bringing the real assassin to justice.

Proceeding to the quarters of the general, he sought and obtained an audience, laid before him the suspicions he had formed, and the hopes he entertained of being enabled to clear up the mystery, and concluded by begging a brief respite of the sentence, to admit of his making the exertions he proposed. This was at once and decisively refused. It was clear that the general was fully convinced of the guilt of the prisoners; and the utmost that the petitioner could prevail on him to grant, was permission for himself, and any of the troops he might select as his assistants, to pass into and out of the camp, as they might find it necessary, during the night—the ordinary rule being, that none should pass the lines between sunset and sunrise—with leave to approach his, the general's, quarters, and have him aroused at any hour previous to that appointed for the execution, should he succeed in discovering anything tending to demonstrate the innocence of his unfortunate brother.

Tom's next step was to collect about a score of his brother's most intimate associates, acquaint them with the measures he meant to adopt, and request their coöperation. Of course, the warm-hearted borderers embarked with enthusiasm in the cause; and in a short time Tom proceeded to the scene of the murder, accompanied by a body of friends whose zeal, combined with the skill, ingenuity, and perseverance which the peculiar habits of the life of the backwoodsman naturally endow him with, promised to do all that could be effected by human agency towards securing the consummation of his hopes.

Their first care, on arriving at the spot, was to ascertain the precise position occupied by the body of the deceased when first discovered. For this purpose they induced the soldier who had made the discovery to accompany the party. Connecting the information obtained from him with the fact that the ball had entered the breast and passed out between the shoulders, which had been previously ascertained by the examination of the body, they were enabled to form a pretty accurate idea of the quarter *from which* the deadly missile had first proceeded, and, by necessary consequence, of the direction *in which* it had most probably *continued its course* after having perforated the person of its victim. They then dispersed, and commenced a rigid scrutiny of the bark of the neighboring trees in that direction.

The difficulties which obstructed the examination were of no trivial character. It had scarcely commenced when the sun went down, and night

descended. Still, the search must be prosecuted, or the object of their solicitude be abandoned to his fate, as he would assuredly expiate his imputed crime on the gallows at daybreak, if his innocence were not established in the interval. Accordingly, pine-wood torches were prepared, and each individual of the party bearing one, the work went forward. But hour after hour passed away, and still no discovery was made. Midnight approached, and the hopes of the associates became fewer and feebler, and some amongst them began to calculate the period that Charley Simmonds had to live. Still, they toiled on through the livelong night, resolved that, at all events, no effort of theirs should be wanting to avert the horrible fate which seemed to await their old companion.

The gloom of the eastern sky was still unvisited by any symptom of the approaching day, though some of the young men had already begun to cast fearful glances at that quarter of the heavens, when a loud and cheerful shout from one of their number speedily brought his companions to the spot. He pointed to an orifice, the recent nature of which was evident from the rawness of the timber, in the soft trunk of a cotton-wood tree, by probing which with the smaller end of a ramrod, the presence of a foreign body at the depth of a few inches was ascertained. The application of the axe speedily extracted the object, on the nature of which was now suspended the realization of all their hopes, and which proved to be as they expected—a leaden bullet, and that with which, doubtless, the murder had been committed. Its appearance at once demonstrated two things: the softness of the cotton-wood had so little altered its shape, that the ragged lead proved, with the utmost distinctness, that it had been discharged from a *grooved barrel*; consequently it could not have been fired by Chingowska, who still carried, in default of a better, the old *smooth bore* which Tuckett had palmed upon him as already recorded; whilst its size was so great, that it was at once declared that no rifle barrel on the frontier, *save one*, would have admitted it; therefore it could not have been fired by Charley Simmonds, as he was not the possessor of the weapon which formed the exception.

In anticipation of this discovery, and with a view to the possible importance of a moment of time, the party had brought with them from the camp a number of horses. Mounted on the fleetest of these, Tom Simmonds now swept along with the speed of light towards the general's quarters, for life and death indeed depended on the cast. His tale was soon told, and an order for the suspension of the execution procured—the general not hesitating to grant it on viewing the new features which the case presented—and ten minutes afterwards, he placed the important document in the hands of the commander of the prisoners' guard, as that officer was in the act of delivering over his charge, to be dealt with by the provost-marshal according to their sentence!

At a later hour in the morning General Wayne directed the body of poor Benton to be exhumed



for further examination. Every individual, experienced in gunshot wounds, who viewed it pronounced the wound which traversed the body to have been, beyond all doubt, inflicted by a rifle ball; and now that attention was directed to that point, declared, with equal confidence, that it was nearly double the size of the orifice which would have been caused by the largest bullet which a gun of the calibre of the ordinary western rifle, such as that carried by Charley Simmonds, would admit. With reference to the wound in the head, it was well known that Simmonds never carried a tomahawk, and it was shown to be physically impossible that it could have been inflicted by that of Chingowska. The axes employed in western warfare, it is well known, are of two kinds—one, the blade of which is narrow, and the edge from point to point, long; the other having the face of the weapon short, but its depth from the edge to the eye considerable. That worn by Chingowska was of the former kind. A blow from it must have produced an incision nearly twice the length of that which the head of poor Benton exhibited, and could not possibly have made one much above half its depth. On applying one of the latter description, however, partaking of the form of the wedge rather than the hatchet, it was found to fit the wound with the greatest exactness, so as to leave no doubt that the blow had been inflicted by a similar weapon.

The general inquired whether Tuckett was accustomed to use the tomahawk; and on hearing, from a score of persons who were familiar with his habits, that he carried one of the latter description, ordered him at once to be placed under arrest.

But that worthy had not been disposed to await the result of the investigation. The camp was searched, but he was nowhere to be found. Some of the heavier and less portable articles of his property were still at his quarters; but it soon became plain that, having heard of the discovery of the rifle ball, which was certain to bring home the murder to his own door, as the possessor of the only piece on the frontier that would carry one of the size, he had at once absconded, taking with him little besides his arms, including the very rifle which was so essentially connected with the discovery of his part in the catastrophe.

Whilst the excitement was at the highest, a man arrived in camp who had been absent on leave since the morning of the day on which the murder was committed, and who heard of the tragedy now for the first time. On being informed of the circumstantial evidence which had so nearly resulted in the death of the late prisoners, he at once stated that, on the evening previous to his departure, he had seen Tuckett tear a morsel of the fur from the trimming of the hunting-shirt of Charley Simmonds, the latter having thrown the garment aside while engaged in some athletic exercise. He thought it odd of Tuckett, he said, but did not interfere, as he considered it no affair of his. The wampum belt of the Indian

had doubtless been purloined whilst the owner lay in a state of helpless intoxication, and both deposited for obvious purposes in the place where they were subsequently discovered.

Shortly after it was ascertained that Tuckett had absconded, Chingowska was missing also. The day passed away, but no intelligence concerning him could be obtained. The night fell, but he was still absent. At an early hour on the following morning he entered the camp, with the much-prized rifle once more in his possession, and at his waist a human scalp, freshly torn from the victim's head, depending from which, more than one individual asserted, was the long coal-black hair of Bill Tuckett, *alias* Sam Staples.

From Chambers' Journal.

#### THE INVALID SEA VOYAGE.

WHEN all other remedies fail, physicians recommend travelling, a sea voyage, or some other mode of change of air, locality, and habits; and such changes often produce wonderful effects on the system. Nor can this be well explained in theory. Physicians know not how it happens; they prescribe it empirically, and, as in many other cases, are guided by experience, not by reasoning. To invalids, there is something at first view in a sea voyage repulsive and uninviting; but if the arrangements and accommodation are at all tolerable, this feeling is soon got the better of. To pass from a comfortable home into a ship, appears at first unpleasant; but to pass from the crowded, smoky atmosphere of the city to the pure, expansive, and quiet atmosphere of the ocean, will be found a relief and a pleasure. Let us see what is the difference of this atmosphere from the other, and then we will be better able to judge, especially in the case of a debilitated nervous person, one whose digestive organs are out of order, or worn, and whose chest, and breathing, and circulation are constant sources of anxiety and annoyance.

The sea air is pure and uncontaminated. It is of a soft, equable temperature—lower than that of land often is, it is true, but not liable to such sudden changes—never dry and parched; and rarely, except under a tropic sun, hot and suffocating. It contains, in general, about an equable portion of moisture—not too much—never in excess, as is often the case on land, and never too little. The stratum of air next the sea is, on the whole, drier than that on a corresponding portion of land. This arises from certain laws of temperature and evaporation. Then its electric condition is much more uniform—a matter of more importance than is generally imagined. There are no epidemics, influenzas, plagues, or anything of the kind experienced at sea. On the contrary, as soon as the fugitive and sufferer from such maladies finds himself fairly out into the ocean, all of them disappear. How seldom do we find the sailor, while at sea, affected with any of those maladies so common on land, and especially in cities! No one but an invalid can know or appreciate the comfort of a sea atmosphere, the increased ease of

breathing, the renewed vigor and elasticity, the absence of palpitations, and the sound sleep which the monotonous dashing and the salutary motion of the wavy billows induce. To a landsman, to be sure, the rolling motion at first is not so pleasant; but custom soon reconciles him to this; and in certain cases this very motion becomes highly beneficial.

The sea air, we have said, is pure and bracing. Instead of the noxious particles and effluvia constantly floating about in the city atmosphere, and the miasma not unfrequent in the rural plains and valleys, the sea air is impregnated with a slight proportion of saline matters—common salt, iodine, bromine, and some others. Now, may not these act chemically on the system? And hence, probably, the renewed and increasing appetite, the improved condition of the secretions, all essential in a state of perfect health. But a sea voyage is monotonous! Not at all—especially not to the invalid. It may be monotonous to a fox-hunter, to the owner of bullocks, to the cavalry officer, to the view-hunter, ever on the wing, flitting about for novelty; but to the invalid, indisposed to much bodily exertion, inclined or obliged to live by rule, and to walk, talk, and move by square and measure, where can there be such a place as a snug vessel, where the meals, the watches, the deck scrubblings, and every sort of work and occupation is regulated by the strictest regard to time? To the invalid, who, after one meal, spends half the interval in thinking about and anticipating the next, what so delightful as dinner served up to a very minute, and cookery, too, though simple, yet of the very best description of its kind? A roasted potato never tasted anywhere so well as on board a ship, perhaps the master-work of some jet-black and shining-faced negro, born with an instinct for cooking yams! And what can be more palatable than pea-soup—the boast of all cabin boys! Then there is a novelty about all naval operations, which months of keen observation cannot fully satiate. The evolutions on deck afford a never-failing source of investigation; the sails, and ropes, and yards, and pulleys, and gay ensigns and pendants; the human population—from the captain down to the black cook and the urchin cabin-boy, with all their peculiar actions, sayings and looks—afford exhaustless studies to the inquisitive novice. Then the economy of the cabin—its furnishings, lockers, berths, have all to be scrutinized—its storm-windows, lights, fireplaces, mirrors—all so different from anything on shore; and when this is exhausted, an exploration of the fore-castle, the hold, and every corner and cranny of your temporary prison-house, will all tend to supplement your enjoyments.

A ship has been called a prison; but where is thought so free and expansive as when looking around you from the deck in some calm and glowing evening, or in the still hour of mid-day? It is true your actual sphere of vision is circumscribed; for looking on the level sea from a ship's deck, your circle does not embrace above two or

three miles in extent; yet how vast and boundless a flight into infinite space does not fancy suggest to your mind, and what calm and elevating trains of thought may you not pursue, as hours on hours glide on unheeded? But the view is monotonous, it is again affirmed, and unvarying in its elements; for there is nothing but the same sea and sky, the one touching, or appearing to terminate in the other. But so it is in your country-house, in the middle of that flat plain, or even in your ornamental cottage, placed in the most picturesque situation. All these become monotonous to the dull eye or the unidea'd mind. But at sea, have you not all the varieties, as well as on shore, of cloud and sunshine—of glorious sunrise and splendid sunset? Have you not the calm—the breeze grateful as a cooling breath, and as an essential sweller of your sails—the stiff breeze curling the green swelling waves into white foam, and the storm raising sky and ocean into awful sublimity? People say you cannot read at sea or write much; but this is a mistake. Where are there greater letter-scribblers, journal-writers, or even book-makers, than sailors? But for an invalid much reading or writing is not necessary, rather injurious. Let him divert his mind with pleasing variety, calm musings, and easy observation. The great deep, far from any shore, does not indeed present many animated objects. It is singularly destitute of vegetation, and of the larger kinds of animated life; but the ocean waters, even at such remote distances from land, still swarm with minute beings—the shining elios, the sailing phasalias, and innumerable animalcules, that will display themselves before the microscopic lens. Then, too, may the sailor invalid become an astronomer—watch the stars, the moon, and the satellites, and learn how these all serve to guide the mariner's track so surely through the vast ocean. The daily reckoning and ship's progress, the taking of the sun's altitude, the approach to land, indicated by the floating sea-weeds and the white-winged sea-birds, that joyfully take their flights around—all these are sources of gentle and salutary excitement. The very stepping on shore, feeling again the tread of earth, seeing the trees and green fields, the houses and crowds of bustling citizens, with the consciousness of renewed health and vigor, are all circumstances so pleasing to the invalid, that he will look back on his ship with love and thankfulness.

TELEGRAPHIC LIGHT-HOUSES.—Some attention was drawn, at the last *soirée* of the president of the Royal Society, to the exhibition of a model of a new *light-house*, patented by a gentleman in the admiralty of the name of Wells, as an improvement of Rettie's invention. The great improvement is, that immediately under the ordinary lamp or light, of three or four feet high, another lantern of about nine feet high, displaying a series of the same letters (N., for instance, for Newcastle, H. for Hull, and so on) on its octagonal sides, so that the mariner can not only be made aware of danger, but the locality he is approaching. For instance, had such

a light bearing the letter D. been exhibited at Dundrum, Captain Hoskins would not have run the Great Britain ashore on that coast, nor have mistaken Dundrum Bay for the Calf of Man. We subjoin a passage from Mr. Wells' description of his own invention: "That light-houses have been completed generally on the old plans, without any regard to the various improvements in which the mechanical sciences abound, is a truth beyond contradiction. They are built generally so lofty that the lights are too far above the eye of the mariner, and being so similar in their appearance, that seamen are quite at a loss to make out their real position when at sea, during the darkness of the night, or in a fog; added to which, the modern improvement, as regards the *one light system*, which is being gradually introduced in connection with the zones of cut glass on the Phrenelle principle, is, to say the least, very expensive, without the slightest advantage as regards the brilliancy of the light, but with all the uncertainty while depending on a single light, with the risk of fire, and the chance of the light going out, leaving all in darkness—occurrences which have frequently taken place. To obviate one of these defects is the object of Mr. Wells' plan—a system by which light-houses may be greatly improved—and show what they are more easily—and where they are situated. The want of systematic arrangement is severely felt at present, and will be shown to be remedied by this new system, which will afford certainty and security to the mariner, and remove all grounds for hesitation. *'Tis the few moments lost in thinking what light it is, that allows the ship to be drawn by wind or current upon the iron-bound rock, where all are lost.'*"

INDURATING BUILDING MATERIALS.—Our attention having been called to an advertisement of Mr. Hutchinson's indurated stone, &c., we were induced to visit the office, and among the extraordinary discoveries of the present day by which materials of the most humble pretensions in works of art are rendered of the utmost utility—the most refractory substances made to bend to the power of scientific research, and many productions, which have for ages been thrown away as useless, brought into most extensive usefulness—we know of none by which a more extraordinary, not to say magical, metamorphosis is effected, than the operation patented by Mr. William Hutchinson, by which plaster of Paris, Bath, Caen, and other soft stone, chalk, wood, pasteboard, and, in fact, any other material, is rendered hard as metal, receiving the most brilliant polish, and made absolutely imperishable from atmospheric action, vermin, &c.

The purposes to which this patent can be applied are innumerable. The first idea of the patentee was the induration of the softer and more common and almost useless stones for the purpose of paving; but so complete was his success that he soon took a loftier view, and has rendered the operation not only applicable to all common purposes for which stone and slates are used in building—such as paving, both internal and external, window sills, cisterns, fittings of dairies, &c.—but now applies the operation to all the higher works of art. Plaster of Paris casts of the most elaborate designs, in bust, reliefs, architectural ornaments, fonts and ornamental flooring for churches, trellis work for balconies, ornamental inkstands, &c., are rendered imperishable by the operation of the elements, and

hard and tough as metal. Sculptors who may so choose may work in Bath or Caen stone, or even chalk, and the production will be rendered superior to marble; and in all these operations the finest edges of the cuttings are preserved, and not a chisel mark is lost.

Inspecting specimens of Mr. Hutchinson's works, we were shown a slab, of soft fine sandstone from Tunbridge Wells—so soft that it might be rubbed into powder by the hand—rendered hard as granite, and rung like a bell; numerous plaster of Paris ornaments and busts, metamorphosed into bronze, granite, and party-colored marbles—drain, water, and gas pipes, made from Bath stone, chalk, or paper, hard as granite, and polished internally like marble; in fact, the results of the operations are most extraordinary.—*London Mining Journal*, for April.

"THE ANGLO-SAXON."—It is a fact well worthy of notice, that "The Anglo-Saxon," the phonotypic newspaper published in this city by Andrews & Boyle, has attained the extraordinary circulation of *six thousand*, weekly, in little more than one year since its establishment. This is certainly one of the boldest attempts at innovation on a large scale that we have ever known, and is, so far, decidedly one of the most successful. Phonotypy and phonography together, constitute what is known as "the Language Reform," or "the Writing and Spelling Reformation." We have heretofore spoken approvingly of the principle which lies at the bottom of this movement; but, apart from its merits, the fact that a family newspaper in the English language, printed in an entirely new system of spelling words, with an alphabet of *forty-two* letters, instead of the *twenty-six* old stagers which have served our forefathers, is liberally sustained, and that its circulation is rapidly increasing, is indisputably one of the most striking and singular phenomena of the nineteenth century. The sheet itself is one of the "curiosities of literature." To the uninformed eye, it may seem the absurdest thing imaginable; but the reputation of its conductors for scholarship, the fact that their labors are not only approved and sanctioned, but warmly advocated, by some of the most learned societies and individuals in the country, and by many of those most interested in education, together with the success which accompanies the undertaking, should at least render those who have not thoroughly studied its principles and understood its advantages, somewhat modest in condemning it.

Phonography, a kind of rapid and scientific shorthand, is rapidly coming into use for verbatim reporting, and even for letter-writing. It is undoubtedly the most perfect system of writing ever invented. The most obvious and immediate use of phonotypy, is its influence in correcting false habits of pronunciation. A year's reading of "The Anglo-Saxon," for this purpose only, must be worth far more, as a means of family education, than its subscription price of *two dollars*, and even more than years of systematic study devoted to pronouncing dictionaries. Children read the paper at once, prompted by mere curiosity at its novelty; and incidentally they learn the true pronunciation of every word in the language—phonotypy being an exact representation of speech. We wish the enterprising editors and conductors of "The Anglo-Saxon" even more triumphant success in future.—*N. Y. Evening Post*.



From Bentley's Miscellany.

# A JOURNEY FROM SHIRAZ TO THE PERSIAN GULF,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF GAZELLE-HUNTING ON THE PLAIN OF BUSHIRE. BY THE HON. C. S. SAVILE.

On the 28th of March, we took our departure from Shiraz. Our first day's journey lay along a circuitous defile leading through the lofty mountains which bound the southern extremity of the plain of Shiraz; so rugged was the road along which lay our course, that it was not until long after sunset that we arrived at Cawal, a small and solitary village, nine fursuks (about thirty-two miles) distant from Shiraz. The howling and squalling of the wolves and jackals commenced immediately after dark, and continued without intermission during the night.

The following morning, when about a fursuk from Cawal, we arrived at the banks of a very rapid river, which we crossed by means of a bridge, in such a ruinous state, that it appeared scarcely able to sustain the weight of our mules. It was fortunate, however, that it was passable, as it would have been completely impossible for us to have forded the river, on account of its rapidity and depth. We now arrived at the foot of a very steep and rocky cotall, (mountain-pass,) where we breakfasted beneath some almond-trees in full blossom. A quantity of beautiful flowers grew upon this spot, which was one of the most lovely I had seen since leaving "the smiling Georgia." Having finished our meal, we proceeded to ascend the pass, which was rendered a task of no ordinary difficulty by the steepness and ruggedness of the rocks.

On arriving at the central point of the cotall, we came upon one of the most magnificent cataracts I had ever beheld; it was of greater breadth and depth than the falls of the Rhine; the scene, indeed, was most imposing, and the noise of the waters almost deafening. On descending upon the plain we were overtaken by a thunder-storm, the terrible effects of which will remain forever engraved upon my memory. For about half-an-hour there was some interval between the flashes of lightning and the peals of thunder, but at length the storm broke just over our heads. The heavens became one blaze of fire, while crash followed crash so rapidly, that not even a momentary pause ensued between the peals.

Late in the afternoon we began to ascend a cotall, in comparison to which the mountain-passes we had previously crossed were as level plains. After great toiling we arrived at the summit, to look down from which made us giddy. We descended, however, in safety to the valley below, thanks to the surefootedness of our excellent horses, and shortly afterwards arrived at Firousabad, a village beautifully situated in the midst of date-groves. The inhabitants were most civil and hospitable, and having conducted us to an excellent lodging, they supplied us with milk, rice, and dates. The sheik soon afterwards paid us a visit. He was an Arab of exceedingly agreeable

address, and informed us that we were the first Faringees he had ever seen.

It would be well worth while for an antiquary to remain a few months at Firousabad, as it presents numerous appearances of having in former days been a place of great importance, size, and strength. There are a quantity of ruins around it, bearing many signs and marks of fortifications, of which several watch-towers are in a good state of preservation. The village is surrounded on every side by mountains, exceedingly difficult of access, and is plentifully supplied with water.

Shortly after resuming our journey we arrived at the banks of a rapid river, or rather mountain torrent, the bridge across which having been washed away, we attempted to ford it in several places, but without success, as it was far out of the depths of our horses, and the stream was of such force and velocity that to have essayed swimming across would have been madness. Just as we were beginning to despair of getting across that day, and were about to retrace our steps towards Firousabad, we espied some peasants on the opposite bank, whom having hailed, they directed us to a ford about a mile down the stream. The passage, however, was not performed without danger, and we were near losing all our baggage-mules.

We had ridden for several hours along the plain when, just as we were passing by a small grove of dwarf oaks, we started a wild boar, and as our guns were slung over our shoulders, we could not resist the temptation of chasing it, and away we galloped in pursuit. I soon succeeded in heading the monster, and in lodging a ball in his back, which did not appear to take much effect. One of our Persian servants now rode up, when the boar suddenly wheeling round, charged furiously at the steed, which was only just saved, by the admirable horsemanship of the rider, from having its legs ripped up. The Persian, having wheeled round, came again to the attack, and firing, the ball broke the foreleg of the grisly brute, who, notwithstanding his wounds, held on at a rapid pace. I had, however, by this time procured a spear from another of the servants, and having again come up with the boar, I made a thrust at his left shoulder, and was fortunate enough to pierce him to the heart, when he fell over with such force that the weapon snapped in my hand.

The scenery of the extensive plain over which we were journeying was most beautiful, and plentifully wooded with almond-trees and dwarf oaks. Some of the neighboring mountains were covered to the very summit with these species of tree, which prevented them from having that barren and rugged appearance common to the hills of the northern and central provinces of Persia. Quantities of rhododendron grew around, which gave the appearance of artificial shrubberies to portions of our route.

At the extremity of the plain of Firousabad we crossed another cotall covered with stunted wood and luxuriant grasses, and having descended to

the opposite side of the mountains, we breakfasted near a rivulet flowing through a small wood. The ground was covered with thousands of flowers, and looked like a richly-ornamented carpet fresh from the looms of Hamadan or Yezd. The climate was very much warmer than that of Shiraz, as we were fast descending to the level of the sea. The plain on which we were now travelling was dotted with the black tents of many Eliaut encampments. For several hours after sunset we rode along, lighted by a most brilliant moon, and about ten o'clock we halted at one of the tents just mentioned, where we were plentifully supplied with milk and eggs, and having reposed for a while, we again resumed our journey.

The Eliauts, or wandering tribes of Persia, resemble the Turcomans, but are much more civilized. They have often been described, and one good picture serves for all, for they are little subject to change; and, while every tradition, and every work on the ancient history of Persia, proves that many of its more southern inhabitants, particularly those of the mountains of Kerman and Lauristan, have been nomade or wandering tribes from time immemorial, we find in the Turkish Eliauts, who have overrun the northern provinces, the language, the habits, and the appearance of the Tartar race, to which they belong. The qualities most prized amongst these tribes are courage in men and chastity in women.

About midnight we arrived at an isolated village, where we passed the remainder of the night, having, during the course of that day's route, performed the distance of fifteen fursuks, without counting the ground gone over during the chase after the wild boar.

Early on the following morning we crossed another cotall, and then breakfasted at an Eliaut encampment, where our wants were attended to by some very handsome women, whose bright black eyes and cheerful countenances helped to enliven the repast.

Our route, during the greater portion of the day, lay along a valley covered with trees and thick crops of barley nearly ready for the sickle. The surrounding country was green to the very mountain tops, and it seemed to us that we were riding over a magnificent carpet of various hues and colors. I was fortunate enough in the afternoon to get within a hundred and fifty yards of a large antelope, which I killed with a shot from my rifle. This was a much more valuable prize to us than the wild boar of the previous day, as Mussulmans have no scruples with regard to the flesh of the deer.

In the evening, we halted at a village, the inhabitants of which consisted partly of Arabs, partly of Persians. The chief or sheik paid us a very long visit. He was an old man, and extremely talkative. Among other topics he introduced that of Hindostan, which country he had seen a little of, some thirty years previously. His notions, however, of geography were very imperfect, and all our explanations could not make him comprehend that England was not in India; and although he

was too polite to say so, he evidently did not give the slightest credence to our assertions of London (which he knew very well by name) being more than four months' sea voyage from Calcutta.

The villagers having by some chance heard that one of our party was a hakim, (doctor,) began immediately to flock to the house at which we were lodging, and bring in their sick brethren. One of the first invalids whose case came under examination was an old man, for whom the doctor prescribed a moderate use of wine. Now the juice of the grape, and indeed all fermented liquors, are rigorously forbidden to Mussulmans by the law of their prophet; but should it be prescribed by a hakim, a dispensation can be granted by a moolah, (Persian Mahometan priest.) No sooner, therefore, was the remedy bruited abroad, than every one present seemed to have been seized with illness, and many persons of both sexes pushed themselves forward, complaining of low spirits, cramps in the stomach, and general debility, in the hope of obtaining the wished-for dispensation; for the love of wine and money, and the gratification of their sensual passions, are the prominent features in the Persian character. In the present instance, it was the first time that the villagers had ever beheld a Frank hakim; and as in the East the medical skill of Europeans is magnified to a degree almost beyond belief, our arrival occasioned a most intense degree of excitement among the inhabitants of this usually quiet spot. Much curiosity was also raised by our guns; some debating, however, took place about their being fit for use, as several veterans considered them as *serviceable* in the way of ornament only, notwithstanding we bore with us a trophy in the body of the antelope I had shot that afternoon. To convince the good people of their error, we took our fire-arms into the open air, and, having loaded some of them with shot and the remainder with ball, we fired the former at some sparrows seated upon a tree at a short distance, and made considerable havoc among them. This exploit caused great admiration, which was increased to absolute wonder, when we fired some bullets into a wooden board at the distance of eighty yards. What most, however, surprised the villagers was the depth to which the balls had penetrated. Our firearms were now lauded to the skies, and various hints were given that a present of a gun would be most acceptable, as it would serve to kill the wolves that infested the country during the winter; and much sadness appeared on the visages of all, when we replaced the much desired firearms in our lodging, without replying to the numerous hints given, the usual Persian phrase of "It is not mine, but yours."

I had been asleep for about two hours, when I was awakened by a slight noise, which seemed to be occasioned by some one stealthily creeping along the room. On my crying out "Who is there?" I received no answer, while at the same time the noise ceased. Having, however, my suspicions aroused, I struck a light, and made a narrow search through the chamber, when, on looking behind

some yekdons (large trunks) and saddle-bags, I discovered a man concealed there. I immediately grappled with him, when he drew his cummar and made a stab at me, which fortunately missed my breast, and but slightly wounded me in the left shoulder. Seizing hold of the armed hand of the miscreant, I raised an alarm, when my companions and our servants came to my assistance; and in a few minutes the robber was securely bound with cords. On searching his person, we found a brace of pistols and a bag of keraunies, which he had just stolen from a portmanteau. The man now beseeched us to let him go, swearing by Allah and Ali that he would never be guilty of such a crime again. As, however, he had added an attempt at assassination to that of robbery, we kept him a prisoner until daylight, and then conducted him before the sheik, who of course appeared most indignant at what had happened, and talked of sending him to Shiraz for execution.

During the whole of this day, which was the first of April, we found the weather excessively hot, as we were fast descending to the level of the sea, and were besides in a very southern latitude. The country over which we rode was at times exceedingly rocky and precipitous, but at the same time covered with verdure of the most luxuriant freshness, and variegated with innumerable flowers. Here was a spot for a botanist to revel in! for such an one would be continually discovering plants hitherto unknown to European Linnæus.

In the course of our day's journey, we passed by many date groves, which give a very picturesque appearance to any spot on which they grow. Dates are so plentiful here, that the natives feed their horses upon them.

The following morning, having ridden for several hours under a very hot sun, we came upon a beautiful mountain stream, the very sight of which refreshed our thirsty souls. But, alas! all is not gold that glitters; for, upon taking a long draught, I felt as though I were poisoned, for nothing was ever more nauseous or bitter than the waters of this stream, which seemed a combination of Epsom, Cheltenham, Harrowgate, and every other spa that has existed since the world began. Every stream we now passed was of the same flavor; and, although almost raging from the effects of thirst, we were unable to appease our sufferings, as no villages lay along our path. All we could do, therefore, was to smoke the pipe of patience, until, after the lapse of several hours, we came upon an Eliaut encampment, where we procured some goat's milk, which appeared to our parched throats like a draught from the goblet of Hebe, although it was brought to us by a hideous old crone.

In the evening, we arrived at the brink of a precipice of almost perpendicular steepness, to descend which appeared, at first sight, totally impracticable. We reached the base, however, in safety, though not without having undergone much fatigue and incurred great danger. All the cotalls I had previously passed over, excepting that to the

north of Firousabad, were as gentle descents in comparison; and it was to our great joy that we were informed that it was the last mountain pass we should meet with, as we were nearly on the level of the sea, and within six fursuks of the Persian Gulf.

Having reached the base of the precipice, we perceived at a short distance some Eliaut tents, to which we proceeded and requested a lodging for the night. We were, according to the usual custom of the nomade tribes, most hospitably treated, and the best of their simple fare was laid out before us. The condition of these Eliauts was far from being as happy as that of the wandering races we had hitherto encountered; for although they were encamped in a beautiful and fertile country, they were deprived of that chief necessity of life, good water. Their situation was that of Tantalus, for they were surrounded on all sides by limpid streams, of which they were unable to drink from their brackishness. Rain-water collected in pits formed their sole resource, excepting during the autumnal months, when melons and other juicy fruits abound. Their cattle, however, drink of the brackish waters, without sustaining any injury.

It is not out of place here to compare one pass with another; and indeed, after having for the first time crossed any celebrated range of hills, one naturally calls to mind the journeys which one may have made across other mountains, and the comparative interest with which such routes have been attended.

I have never crossed either Mount Cenis or the Simplon: I cannot, therefore speak of them. The most celebrated passes with which I am acquainted are—St. Gotthard, Mount Albula, the pass by the source of the Rhine, the Rhetian Alps, the Breuner, the limb of the Pic du Midi, the pass of the Pyrenees from Perpignan to Catalonia, from Gavarnie by the Brèche de Roland to Arragon, some of the mountain passes of Norway, the Spanish Sierras, the Caucasus, the northern Elborz between Meanah and Casvin, and the stupendous cotalls in the south of Persia, which I have just described. Now, it may appear singular that of these the lower passages should be the finest; yet so it is, in my estimation. Mount Albula and the Brèche de Roland are certainly lower than St. Gotthard, and yet their features are more striking. And the truth is, that besides the causes I have already mentioned, arising from diversity in conformation and surface, the very lowness is itself the chief cause of superiority. Nor is this apparent paradox difficult to explain; for where a road traverses the summit of a mountain, there cannot be precipices above; and the mere fact that a road is necessarily led over the highest part of the range, is itself a proof that it is not indented by those deep valleys, clefts, and ravines, which, did they exist, would permit the route to be conducted across at a lower elevation. Where a road traverses the summit of a mountain, the views may certainly be extensive; but they must greatly



yield in sublimity to those which are presented where the road conducts the traveller through the heart of the mountain, among its deep recesses, its forests and cataracts.

Looking back and upward to the mountains I had just traversed, the different passes I have just enumerated were successively recalled to my mind; I again contemplated, as it were, the rocky grandeur and desolation of Mount Albula and the Northern Elborz; the icy horrors of the Brèche de Roland; the picturesque beauties of the Rhetian Alps: the wide pastures of the Pic du Midi, with its fields of purple iris; the gloomy sublimity of the pine-clad mountains of Scandinavia and the inhospitable Caucasus; the arid desert, and far-up solitudes of the Sierra Morena; and the rich variegated carpet that overspreads the passes of the western Pyrenees. More sublime than some of these, more beautiful than others, the mountain-passes between Shiraz and the Persian Gulf, have their own peculiar charms; they could easily bear a comparison with the western Pyrenees, and hold an equal, and even superior, place in my memory with the passes of Switzerland.

On the 3rd of April, after a short ride over some uneven ground, we reached the northern extremity of the plain of Bushire, when, leaving our mules and baggage to follow us, we pushed on rapidly, intending to arrive at Bushire early in the day. The weather was almost broiling; indeed, I had never hitherto felt such heat during the same season of the year.

We had arrived within four fursuks of our journey's end, when we perceived before us a very large encampment, some of the tents forming which, were of the most gorgeous appearance. At this moment, several horsemen came up and informed us that the Prince-Governor of Bushire had sent them to us with an invitation. We accordingly accompanied the messengers to the royal tent, where we were most graciously received by the prince, who was seated on some magnificent cushions of cachemere. He was a very handsome, fine-looking young man, of about two-and-twenty years of age, and was the eldest son, by his chief wife, of Hussein Meerza, Farmoon Farmah of Shiraz, and son of Fath Ali, King of Persia. His royal highness had been for several days on a hunting expedition, and was about to proceed on the following morning to Bushire. He invited us to stay that night with him, and to accompany him afterwards on his return homewards, informing us at the same time that we should enjoy some excellent gazelle-hunting and hawking on the way. Although we were much fatigued with our long and tedious journey from Shiraz, we accepted of the invitation, and the more willingly, as we were aware that it would afford us an opportunity of witnessing a royal eastern hunt in all its splendor. Hussein Ali Meerza, for that was the name of the prince, entertained us during the remainder of the day most hospitably, and did us the honor of personally conducting us over his hunting and hawking establishment, which

consisted of above a hundred fine Arab horses, eighty-four greyhounds, and ninety three-hawks, besides a quantity of yaboos (hacks) of an inferior quality, for the use of the camp-followers. In the evening he ordered out his body-guard to practise at a mark, which consisted of a large he-goat placed at three hundred and fifty yards' distance from the marksmen, who fired with huge, unwieldy matchlocks, about twelve feet in length, and so heavy that they could not be used without a rest. The men shot tolerably well, several balls striking the ground close to the goat. Two to-finee-his hit the stake to which the animal was tied, which pleased the prince so much that he immediately ordered a kalaat (dress of honor) to be given to each. Having returned with us to his tent, he directed a bottle to be placed at a hundred paces distant at which he fired about twenty shots; he did not, however, prove himself a very good marksman, or rather the rifle he used was so very unwieldy, that he did not go near the mark. The prince, although evidently somewhat annoyed at the ill-success of his attempts, laughed at his awkwardness, as he termed it, and asked us to try our skill. Upon which, having sent for one of my rifles, I was fortunate enough to break three bottles in as many shots; but, in order that his royal highness should not be vexed at being beaten by me, I hinted to him that his want of success was owing to the hardness of his gun-locks, and proposed that he should make a trial of my rifle. Whether it was the result of accident, or that he was really a better shot than I gave him credit for, he hit the mark at the third shot, and appeared so delighted with the gun, that I could not help making use of the sentence, "It is not mine, but yours." In return for this present, Hussein Ali Meerza sent me afterwards, a beautiful Nedjee Arab, perfectly white, and which, I believe, became in the following year one of the chief favorites of the Bombay turf, to which city it was taken by an Arab horse-dealer, to whom I sold the animal on quitting Persia.

Around the royal tent were pitched several others, belonging to the chief khans and meerzas of the province. The assemblage of Arabs and Persians, composing the retinue, was very numerous, and presented more the appearance of an army on a campaign, than that of a hunting-party. A traveller in the east can, indeed, easily understand how Nimrod of old, "who was a mighty hunter before the Lord," became a powerful monarch. The most warlike Persian kings have always been great hunters. The illustrious eunuch, Aga Mahomed, uncle and predecessor to Fath Ali, was the best horseman and most expert marksman of his day, as well as being the best general, the most valiant warrior and the ablest statesman.

After sunset, the prince sent for his musicians, who played and sang before us for several hours. One of their songs was composed in honor of Mr. Littlejohn, general of the forces at Shiraz, and was replete with praises of his great martial deeds and military skill. The performers, indeed, with all

the license of Persian poetry, went so far as to say, "that Zaul and Rustum were great heroes—the very fathers of heroes, but that their exploits were as dirt compared to those of the brave, lion-hearted, eagle-eyed Faringee, whose voice was as the winds of heaven, whose appearance was that of Eusoff, whose limbs were as graceful as those of an antelope, whose strength was as that of an elephant, and whose agility was that of a Goorkhur."

On the following morning, we started, before daylight, for Bushire, in company with the prince. Horsemen had been previously sent forward, in different directions, to look out for the haunts of the gazelles, and after we had proceeded for about a fursuk, news was brought that several of those animals were close at hand. The arrangements for the chase were now so managed, that we soon surrounded the destined prey by a very large circle. The signal was then given, hawks were cast, and dogs loosed, and away we galloped as fast as our horses could carry us. The manner in which the hawks attack the antelope is most remarkable, for immediately on the bird being let free, it singles out a deer, and having overtaken it, perches upon its head and flaps its wings over the eyes of the animal, until it is so blinded and baffled in its movements, that the dogs can come up and pull it down. In this manner about a dozen gazelles were killed, when, the rifle being brought into play, the hunt assumed a different aspect, and as the hunters were too much engrossed in the sport to take heed of where their shots might strike, in case of their missing the gazelles they fired at, the amusement was not unattended with danger. In the present case, however, all went off, for some time, without any further accident than the wounding of several horses and dogs, when an adventure occurred of which I was an eye-witness, and which, but for the promptitude of oriental justice, might have been forever enveloped in mystery. The episode of this day's hunt was as follows:

I was lagging somewhat behind, after having assisted in killing a gazelle, which had been pulled down close to me by a couple of greyhounds, when suddenly a horseman at my side levelled his gun, seemingly, at another antelope which was bounding along at some distance, and fired; the ball, however, did not strike the deer, but entering the breast of an Arab considerably to the right of the apparent mark, killed him dead on the spot. As may be imagined, a general hue and cry arose, and in a few moments the greater portion of the hunters had crowded to where the corpse lay, weltering in its warm blood. "How did it happen?" "Who killed him?" "Poor Abdallah! ill luck to the careless hand that pulled the trigger!" "His father's grave is defiled, and he himself shall be choked with the filth of all uncleanness." "What an ass must he be, who knows not a man from a deer!" Such were the exclamations that were uttered on all sides. As for the man, whose gun had sped the fatal ball, he sat motionless upon his horse, his face deadly

pale, and his teeth firmly clenched together, while his eyes seemed immovably fixed upon the body of him he had just slain. I know not how it was, but a suspicion rose in my mind that the deed had not been entirely accidental, and the more I reflected, the more that idea became confirmed; for I remembered that when the shot was fired, the gazelle and the man who had been slain were by no means in the same line. It appeared, moreover, that these suspicions were not confined to myself alone, for in a few minutes a horseman rode frantically up, exclaiming, "My son! my son! where is he?" This last person was, as his words implied, the father of the dead Arab. I had never beheld a countenance so full of agony as that of the old man, as he gazed upon the corpse; a moment afterwards, however, it became convulsed with rage, for some one whispered in his ear the name of the man by whose hand his son had fallen. As if animated by all the vigor of youth, he spurred his horse violently, and at the same time drawing his sword, he rushed up to the slayer of his son, and aimed a blow at his head, which the other narrowly avoided. Before there was time to renew the blow, the bystanders interfered, and attempted to calm the old man's rage by observing that what had occurred was the effect of accident. "An accident!" cried the Arab; "it was never an accident that turned the muzzle of the assassin's gun towards my poor boy's heart; had any other but Ali Acmah fired the shot, I might have believed it was accident; but Ali Acmah has long desired the blood of his victim; I am ready to swear on the koran that the murder was premeditated. But why do you hold me? Let me strike at the foul heart of the wretch! Let me send his soul to hell!"

It was in vain that his friends essayed to pacify the old man; in vain they attempted to hold him back, his struggles were so violent, and the horse he bestrode so spirited, that he would soon have disengaged himself from their hold, had not the prince rode up. His presence caused a momentary silence, which was, however, immediately broken by the old Arab, who, darting from his horse, threw himself upon his knees before Hussein Ali Meerza, and having loudly accused Ali Acmah of wilfully murdering his son, claimed the right of revenging the blood, as being the nearest relative to the fallen man. The prince having dismounted, proceeded to seat himself upon a numnud, which was spread for him on the ground, and bade both accused and accuser to be brought before him. The latter soon told his tale, which was, "that Ali Acmah and his victim had been at bitter enmity with each other for some time, and that the former had been more than once heard to say, that he longed for young Abdallah's blood; that, in fact, this was not the first attempt he had made at assassination, for a few months before Abdallah had been shot at while sitting under a date tree, in the vicinity of Bushire, and it was strongly suspected that Ali Acmah had fired the ball, which had been lodged in the turban of the young man."

To this accusation Ali Acmah replied, that he had never felt any hatred towards Abdullah; that as for the shot fired in the date grove, he wished that his beard might be plucked from its roots, if he knew from whom it came. "It was an unlucky fate," he continued, "that caused the ball from my rifle to enter the body of the young man, for I had aimed at a gazelle; as Allah is Allah, and Mahomed is his prophet, I speak no lies. I am ready to pay the price of blood, it is due from me, for I have slain a man, although unintentionally."

"You lie, vile wretch! foul swine! burnt father! goromsog!" cried the old Arab. "You are an assassin, you wished to kill my son. O most noble prince, issue of the king of kings, give me the life of this man!—let me slay him with mine own hand! Does he think that blood-money can ever repay me for the loss of my child? Oh, no!—may the ashes of my ancestors be defiled, if I accept of any ransom! Let me have blood for blood, vengeance for vengeance."

An investigation of some length now ensued; witnesses were called; the mutual positions of the dead man, Ali Acmah, and the gazelle, at the moment of the shot being fired, were examined into; and at length it became clear to every one present that the fatal event was the result of no accident, but of a premeditated vengeance. The prince had now no second course to pursue; and having asked the bereaved father whether he was inclined to accept of the price of blood, the old man returned in a firm and solemn voice:—

"In no other manner but by the death of the assassin."

"Take, then, your due," said Hussein Ali Meerza. "I am here to administer equal justice to Persians and to Arabs, and can refuse it to none."

On hearing these words, the murderer threw himself upon his knees, and having confessed his guilt, intreated for mercy in the most suppliant terms, calling Allah to witness that he had received the grossest provocation from him he had slain. It was, however, in vain that he spoke. There was one man only present who had power to save his life, and that man was the father of Abdullah. Coldly drawing forth his sabre, the old Arab advanced towards the kneeling criminal, and exclaiming—"O Abdullah! thus do I revenge thy blood!" with one powerful blow, he severed the head of Ali Acmah from his body.

I had before this frequently been witness to the awful speediness of Oriental justice, but never had I beheld a scene more imposing than the one which had just taken place; for in the space of one short half-hour the murder had been committed, the accusation made, the witnesses examined, and the criminal condemned and executed. It must be observed that justice was meted out in this instance most impartially; for had not the crime been *clearly* proved, the murderer would have been acquitted. He would still, however, have been exposed to the vengeance of the dead man's family, who would have sought his life by every possible means.

The fatal event which had occurred having naturally put a sudden stop to the chase, the retinue of the prince collected together in good order, and we proceeded in the direction of Bushire, where we arrived about noon. At the entrance of the town we took leave of Hussein Ali Meerza, and proceeded to the factory,\* where we were most hospitably received by Mr. Blane, the English resident and political agent.

A few days after our arrival at Bushire, a revolution took place, and, after some bloodshed, Hussein Ali Meerza was deposed, and the government usurped by one Djumal Khan, an Arab. After having been detained prisoner for a short time, the prince was allowed to depart with his harem for Shiraz.

Djumal Khan did not long enjoy his usurped power; for a few weeks after he had assumed the reins of government, he was shot while feasting in a date-grove about a mile from the town, the day before the arrival of Timoor Meerza, second brother to Hussein Ali, with an army from Shiraz. Aided by this (for him) fortunate occurrence, Timoor Meerza soon put down the rebellion, and was in consequence appointed governor by the Farmoon Farmah, which situation he held until the death of Fath-Ali Shah, when, having been engaged with his father† and brothers in unsuccessfully disputing the crown with Mohammed Shah, the present monarch, he was obliged to fly from Persia, when he proceeded to England in company with Hussein Ali Meerza and another of his brothers.

Those three Persian princes are now residing at Bagdad, and are in receipt of a pension from the English government.

SHIRTS of unbleached cotton, made in the national workshops at Paris, have for some days past been offered for sale at Brussels and at Antwerp. These shirts cost the French republic 2 francs 30 centimes each; and they have been sold to a large house at Paris, which has relied on placing them in foreign markets, at 1 franc 10 centimes. Before the business of our exchange was over, French agents endeavored to place 500,000 shirts with the Antwerp exporters. In this sense the French government experiences a loss of 650,000 francs; and, independently of other articles of dress which are furnished by the workshops of the women, shirts continue to be made at the rate of 20,000 per day. It is clear, therefore, that the workpeople who are paid at the rate of 2 francs per day for doing nothing in the Parc Monceau are not those who are the most expensive to the republic; for the making of each shirt represents no more than 50 centimes, so that the loss is 1 franc 20 centimes per shirt. It is evidently impossible that the French republic should be able for any length of time to carry on a traffic of this description.—*Jour. du Commerce, Antwerp.*

\*The English residence is so called.

†The right of Hussein Meerza, Farmoon Farmah of Shiraz, to the crown of Persia, was not altogether visionary, for he was born (of a different mother) on the same day as the late Abbas Meerza, father of Mohammed the present Shah. Had not the claim of Mohammed been supported by the English and Russian governments, there is every reason to suppose that Hussein would have been successful, as he possessed a very well-disciplined army, commanded by Mr. Littlejohn, a most talented British officer.



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Yet everywhere throughout these islands we discover the materials of a lucrative commerce, the means of easy communication, and apparently all the elements which contribute to the formation of civil society. No part of the globe possesses a more genial climate. The extremes of heat and cold are in many places unknown. Health is promoted by those powerful atmospheric currents which, under the name of the monsoons, prevail periodically, and bring along with them refreshing and fertilizing rains. Volcanic agency from beneath, as in Borneo, Java, Celebes and elsewhere, has thrust up the mountains to a prodigious height, and thus prepared a resting place for the clouds, the cradles of innumerable rivers, and the sites of those mighty primeval forests, which impress so peculiar a character on the landscapes of the Archipelago.

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The first glimpse obtained by the people of the West of this wonderful Archipelago was through the relations of the great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who, in the service of the Mongol Emperor of China, explored it about the year 1290. In the following century Sir John Mandeville, during his thirty-four years' travels, likewise visited it; but nearly two centuries more elapsed, before commercial enterprise advanced so far towards the East. Meanwhile, however, an Asiatic people had discovered the Archipelago, and were exploring it in all directions, for the purposes of trade and conversion. These were the Arabs; who, issuing from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, penetrated through the Atolls of the Maldives, doubled the southern promontory of Ceylon, traversed the Bay of Bengal, boldly navigated the channels of the twelve thousand islands, and extended their voyages to the shores of the Celestial Empire. With the details of their mercantile and religious operations we are unacquainted. We only know that adventurer after adventurer from the Arabian Peninsula, from Persia, Syria, and Egypt, appeared in the Indian Archipelago, and taking up their abode in the wealthier and more desirable islands, became so many apostles of *El Islam*. Here, by these men and the mariners who brought them to the field of their labors, was collected much of the materials of those wonderful Tales, which, under the name of "The Thousand and One Nights," have since made the circuit of the world. Full of the courage which is inspired by enthusiastic piety and the passion for gain, the Mohammedan merchants, in settling among the idolators, invariably determined in secret to overthrow their superstition, and at the same time, perhaps, their temporal power which was based upon it. Belief in the Koran operated like the tie of brotherhood. The Faithful were generally ready to aid each other, to project common enterprises, and to elevate some fortunate disciple of the Prophet from the obscurity of private life to a throne. What were the proceedings of the early Muslims, of whose exploits we have no record, we may partly conjecture from that which took place in Java towards the close of the fifteenth century, when the Hindú kingdom, whose capital was Moja Pahit, fell beneath the sword of Mohammedan adventurers from Sumatra, just as the course of European enterprise was on the point of being directed towards these Eastern seas.

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of Pedir, in Sumatra. Proceeding afterwards to Malacca, on the Malay Peninsula, he engaged in a contest with the Sultan Mohammed, who defeated him, took a number of the Portuguese prisoners, and compelled him to retrace his steps. Two years afterwards the great Alphonso Albuquerque sailed to Malacca, ostensibly to avenge the disgrace of Sequeira, but in reality to extend the dominions of Portugal under any pretext whatsoever. Into the details of the enterprises and wars that followed, this is not the place to enter. The Portuguese penetrated the Archipelago in search of the Spice Islands, made forcible settlements on the Moluccas, and were guilty of indescribable cruelty and treachery in the course of their victorious career. Still further to exasperate their ambition by the spirit of rivalry, the Spaniards, under Magellan, a Portuguese by birth, but in the service of Charles V., astonished them by appearing in the Archipelago, in 1519, from the other side, by the straits, which bear his name. Magellan only discovered the Manillas, to lose his life there; and so much were the Spaniards occupied in other quarters, that it was not until 1564, that they took possession of them, and in honor of Philip II. changed their name to that of the Philippines. Fifteen or sixteen years later the fluctuations of European politics reached these distant regions. By a singular coincidence Philip united Portugal to Spain, and the Dutch shook off the Spanish yoke, almost at the same moment, (1579, 1580.) The Dutch had supplied themselves as merchants with the commodities of the East at Lisbon. They had now no choice, therefore, but to treat the Portuguese as Spaniards; and, after the fashion of their predecessors, to try their fortunes in the East as conquerors. When the Portuguese recovered their national independence in 1640, it was too late for them to retrieve the oriental empire they had by this time lost.

The flag of Holland first made its appearance in these seas in 1596; shortly after which England also made some efforts to share the commerce and spoils of Insular Asia. But while the Dutch went on patiently nursing their influence, consolidating their trade, and laying the foundations of future empire, our countrymen, on the contrary, after a brilliant commencement in Japan and elsewhere, relinquished the enterprise to concentrate all their efforts on the continent of India. Throughout the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Dutch were occupied in strengthening their position in the Indian Archipelago, driving out the Portuguese and Spaniards, and securing the monopoly of the trade in spices. Gradually the Portuguese vanished from the scene, but the Spaniards maintained their ground in the Philippines; and, while the Dutch, chiefly confining their attention to the south, stretched westward and eastward from Java, obtained exclusive dominion over the Moluccas, insinuated themselves into Borneo, and established factories in Celebes—the Spaniards predominated in the northern groups, made settlements on the great island of

Magindanao, attempted the reduction of the Sulus, and even extended their claims to Palawan and Northern Borneo.

When we read the history of piracy in antiquity, and find it able to make head against the Roman republic, even in its most palmy days, we are apt, with a smile to impute the circumstance to the imperfection of naval science in those ages; forgetting that the buccaneering system destroyed by Pompey was scarcely more formidable to the legitimate commerce of the world, than that which now flourishes in the vicinity of a British settlement, and in the very heart, we might almost say, of the Netherlands' East Indies. At all events, the pirates who disputed the sovereignty of the Mediterranean with Rome, though exceedingly numerous, and possessed on land of a superb basis of operations, (the same might be said of the Barbary powers, so long the disgrace of Christendom,) were few compared with their successors in the eastern seas; who, in addition to their naval strength, command whole principalities, and almost empires ashore, where they mimic regal splendor, and exercise many of the functions, and perform some of the duties of kings. History, which seldom underrates the forces of belligerents, estimates at twenty-four thousand the pirates defeated by Cæsar's rival. We may, without the slightest exaggeration, maintain that more than four times that number now carry on the same calling in the eastern seas, though existing under different conditions—inasmuch as they aim at no common purpose, have no general organization, and are swayed by no central authority.

It must have been remarked by all who have bestowed any consideration on the subject, that the haunts of pirates are distributed as it were over the ocean by the hand of Nature. Wherever there exist numerous groups of islands, separated from each other by narrow and intricate channels, lavishly indented with creeks and bays, encompassed with reefs and shoals, pierced with caverns, and walled in part with precipices, which none but desperadoes will descend or climb, there you may almost reckon with certainty on discovering a piratical station.

The earliest buccaneers known to history made their appearance among the isles and rocks which stud the Egean; the Normans issued from the intricate and half-frozen seas of the North; the buccaneers of America founded their short-lived empire in the archipelago of the Mexican Gulf; the Juasms selected for their place of refuge the innumerable rocks and islets which stretch along the eastern shores of Oman; and the Malays, Illanuns, Balanini, Bajows, Sulus, Papuans, and other marauders who infest the Indian Archipelago, rejoice in the vast labyrinth of reefs, shoals, gulfs, bays, creeks, and channels, into which the circumference of the twelve thousand islands is broken up.

The navigators and mariners who frequent those seas find it difficult to comprehend from whence can issue those myriads of war prahus which they

encounter everywhere, threading the most tortuous passages, standing up and down the rivers, or stealing round the sandpits and headlands which diversify every shore. But if we unroll before us a map of the Archipelago, and institute inquiries respecting the haunts of the pirates, our surprise will cease; or, if we wonder at all, it will be at the fact that, in spite of so many enemies and obstacles, an immense and perpetually increasing trade should still be carried on. From Sumatra on the west to New Guinea on the east, and from Java, Bali, Lombok, and Floris on the south, to the utmost limits of Magindanao and Palawan northward, there is scarcely a single island which does not send forth buccaneers. But we must not form our ideas of them upon the Corsair of Lord Byron, or from the pirates who once infested our own seas: they are not mere robbers, without home or habitation—without family or property—who scour the ocean in search of gain, as highwaymen used to traverse Hounslow Heath. On the contrary, they carry on during a portion of the year other callings on sea or land—fishing, trading, or cultivating the soil, like honest and industrious people. Many of their settlements are among the pleasantest spots in the whole East. You ascend some newly-discovered, secluded river, stretching far into the interior, across beautiful plains, through immense primitive forests, up broad picturesque valleys, unequalled, perhaps, in the world, for the magnificence of their vegetation; and you come suddenly upon a sweet little village, consisting of hundreds of neat and graceful houses, erected on wooden pillars with the lightest materials, and surrounded by gardens as trim and well ordered as any in China. You inquire who are the dwellers in this attractive spot, and you learn that they are pirates! You behold the women and children sitting at work or playing in their lofty balconies, where some venerable old man, with blanched beard and weather-beaten countenance, sits calmly meditating on the affairs of this sublunary world. That respectable person is also a pirate, though he prays daily to Allah, and performs all the ordinary duties prescribed by his religion. You enter the houses, and find in them some proofs of the civilization of Western Asia, characterized by the fierce fanaticism of the Arabian Peninsula; while next door, perhaps, you perceive long strings of human heads depending in festoons from the ceiling, or gathered up in nets ready to be exhibited at the orgies of some Fagan festival. Around, the country far and near is elaborately cultivated; and breezy groves of cocoa-nut trees at once adorn the landscape, enrich the proprietor, and afford the traveller a refreshing shade. Nevertheless, at the proper seasons of the year, forth from this agreeable home—this little tropical paradise—issues a ruthless band of buccaneers, who, with lelahs and matchlocks, spears, bows, and poison-darting sumpitans, spread desolation far and wide.

In magnitude and appearance the piratical fleets differ widely from each other. Those of the Sea Dyaks, and some other tribes, consist of small light

boats, rudely built and armed, which are propelled rapidly with paddle and sail along the shore. Unequal to long voyages or contests with large vessels, they only aim at the plunder of native trading boats, or the capture of slaves. On the other hand, the fleets of the Illanuns and Balanini, on their departure from their island homes upon long marauding expeditions, present a spectacle of wonderful magnificence, consisting, sometimes, of ninety or a hundred war prahus with numerous banks of rowers, double decks, warriors clad gorgeously in scarlet, bright brass guns, flashing spears and scimitars, lofty masts, broad sails, and parti-colored streamers waving and flapping in the breeze.

It is impossible, while considering the habits, strength, and character of these pirates, not to institute a comparison between them and our own buccaneering ancestors, the Vikings or Sea Kings of the North; who, more than a thousand years ago, carried on, along the shores of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, France and England, the same profession, and exercised the same cruelties and atrocities as now disgrace the rovers of the Indian Archipelago. In both cases the system arose out of similar circumstances—a defective government, and imperfect knowledge of the useful arts, a wrongly-directed education, and the prevalence of erroneous and perverted opinions throughout the whole body of society. Among the Northmen peaceful pursuits were held in little esteem. To acquire by force was more honorable than to earn by industry. In order to provide for their sons and kinsmen, the kings and nobles of Scandinavia, instead of encouraging them to betake themselves to agriculture or commerce or any other profitable profession, supplied them with the means of building, manning, and equipping a number of vessels, with which they scoured the sea in quest of plunder and captives. Accustomed to struggle with the elements, to endure privations, and to live in the perpetual presence of danger, they quickly learned to set a slight value upon life, and to stifle in their breasts all sentiments of compassion. They habituated themselves to look on wounds, and blood, and torture, and the miseries of captivity, without the least emotion; and when their turn came to suffer or to die, they went through the ceremony with complete indifference. *Ridens morior.*

The same thing may now be predicated of our Indian pirates. Scorning the quiet drudgery of sedentary life, except during their season of compulsory leisure, their principal chiefs aim at opulence and power solely through rapine and violence. To them, merchants are but their flocks and herds, and the pacific dwellers on land, the rough agriculturist, and the toiling artisan, only so many articles of traffic. Without pity or remorse, they fire villages at night, just as the Scandinavians did, massacring all who offer resistance; make captives of the remainder, manacle or bind them to each other like wild beasts, cast them pell-mell into the holds of their prahus, and sell

them at the next slave market into hopeless servitude. Nor is it the weak and unprotected alone, against whom they direct their attacks. As the Normans of old landed boldly in thickly-peopled districts, assaulted towns and villages, and even laid siege occasionally to capital cities, so the Illanuns and Balanini fly at the noblest game, storm the strongholds of princes, and lay large cities in ashes. Even so recently as our treaty with Omar Ali for the suppression of piracy, the Balanini openly threatened to undertake an expedition against Bruné and destroy it, to punish the Sultan for entering into an alliance with us.

It may serve to convey some idea of the numbers, enterprise, and daring of these men to observe, that throughout an immense area of some thousand leagues square, no native vessel navigates the sea in safety, no native inhabitant of the land, whether prince or peasant, sleeps at night securely in his bed. The power of the Sea Kings of the East makes its appearance everywhere, when least expected—from the northern extremity of Sumatra to the most south-westerly province of New Guinea, and from the Philippines to Sandal Wood Island. Historians have remarked with surprise that the Scandinavian pirates were able to build, fit out, and victual ships which were equal to voyages of more than a year's duration. Yet, as a general rule, the utmost limits of their expeditions were confined within a narrow circle, in every part of which they could easily obtain water and provisions. The buccaneers of the Archipelago would have made light of this. They are often known to be out for upwards of two years, within which period they sometimes traverse ten thousand miles of sea: since they have been found on the north-western coast of Borneo, having on board slaves from Papua and merchandise from the Patani, in the Malay Peninsula.

The brilliant success, which fortune sometimes awarded to the Vikings of the North, falls also at times to the share of their modern representatives in the Indian Archipelago; where many an Oriental Rollo has won splendid provinces with his sword, and seated himself by force on a more or less durable throne. Nearly every island, small and great, within the circuit of that vast group, has, at some time or other, accepted a sovereign from among the pirates, whose courage and intelligence may, in such countries, indeed, be admitted to entitle them to supreme authority. Until recently the attention of the world has not been directed to the rovers of the East; while numerous writers have vied with each other in vaunting the heroism of the Sea Kings. But, if we divest ourselves of traditional prejudices, and extend our impartial admiration from the deeds of our Scandinavian forefathers to those of our Mohammedan and Pagan enemies in Insular Asia, we shall find among the latter examples of an equally chivalrous courage and of the same contempt of death. Mr. Brooke, who is able fully to appreciate the enthusiastic valor which he is compelled to extirpate, records, with a sort of proud satisfaction, the



Spartan heroism displayed by the Illanun Panglima on the beach of Sarāwak.

Arrived at Siru, (he says,) I found the Patingi waiting till the Pangeran and the Illanun Panglima came to the beach; and, to prevent suspicion, my party kept close in the boat, whence I could observe what was passing without. The Pangeran and Illanun walked down, both well armed, and the latter dressed out with a variety of charms. Once on the beach retreat was impossible, for our people surrounded them, though without committing any hostile act. The suspicion of the two was, however, roused, and it was curious to observe their different demeanor. The Borneo Pangeran remained quiet, silent, and motionless, a child might have taken him. The Magindanao Illanun lashed himself to desperation; flourishing his spear in one hand and the other on the handle of his sword, he defied those collected about him. He danced his war dance on the sand, his face became deadly pale, his wild eyes glared, he was ready to *amok*, to die, but not to die alone. His time was come, for he was dangerous, and to catch him was impossible; and accordingly Patingi Ali, walking past, leaped forward and struck a spear through his back far between his shoulders, half a foot out at his breast. I had no idea that after such a stab a man could, even for a few instants, exert himself; but the panglima, after receiving his mortal wound, rushed forward with his spear and thrust it at the breast of another man; but strength and life failed, and the weapon did not enter. This was the work of a few seconds.\*

Another passage from the same deeply interesting Journal will show that all pirates do not display the same stoicism, and that neither intrepidity nor affectation is always able to subdue or disguise the fear of death:—

About one the pirate Budrudeen was taken across the water to the house of his own relatives, who were present, and had previously consented to his death, and there strangled by Pangeran Bakore. The mode of execution is *refined*. The prisoner is placed inside thick musquito curtains, and the cord twisted from behind. The criminal, it is said, kept repeating, "What! am I to be put to death for *only* killing the Chinese? Mercy! Mercy!" His brother-in-law was krissed by a follower of the rajah inside a house; his hands were held out, and the long kriss being fixed within the clavicle bone on the left side was pushed down to the heart. The criminal smiled as they fixed the kriss, and died instantly.†

Brave men, however, always die in much the same manner when their passions are excited, or when the necessity comes for meeting their fate. The consciousness of a life of blood does not appear to daunt them. No disciple of Zeno, nurtured in the Portico on ethics and cold syllogisms, could depart out of life with more magnanimous composure than one of these freebooters, who received his mortal wound in a piratical encounter. "The account given," says Keppel, "of the scene which presented itself on the deck of the defeated pirate when taken possession of, affords a striking

proof of the characters of these fierce rovers, resembling greatly what we read of the Norsemen and Scandinavians of early ages. Among the mortally wounded lay the young commander of the prahu, one of the most noble forms of the human race; his countenance handsome as the hero of Oriental romance, and his whole bearing wonderfully impressive and touching. He was shot in front and through the lungs, and his last moments were rapidly approaching. He endeavored to speak, but the blood gushed from his mouth with the voice he vainly essayed to utter in words. Again and again he tried, but again and again the vital fluid drowned the dying effort. He looked as if he had something of importance which he desired to communicate, and a shade of disappointment and regret passed over his brow, when he felt that every essay was unavailing, and that his manly strength and daring spirit were dissolving into the dark night of annihilation. The pitying conquerors raised him gently up, and he was seated in comparative ease, for the welling out of the blood was less distressing; but the end speedily came; he folded his arms heroically across his wounded breast, fixed his eyes upon the British seamen around, and casting one last glance at the ocean, the theatre of his daring exploits, on which he had so often fought and triumphed—expired without a sigh.\*\*

The speech which this pirate chief would have uttered, but could not for the overflowing of his life's blood with his voice, may, without the least extravagance be supplied from one of the Northern Sagas. In the records of the Sea Kings, which often describe heroes smiling, like the Borneo chiefs in their last moments, we meet with the picture of a wholesale butchery of captive rovers from the celebrated strong hold of Jomsburgh; among whom there seems to have been a sort of rivalry which of them should display the greatest coolness and jocularly in the extremity of a fearful death.

In a cruising voyage about the year 924, the Jomsburghers fell in with the fleet of Jarl Hakon, a king of Norway. Superstition appears to have had its share in their defeat. They fancied that they saw Thorgerd Hördabrud herself at the prow of Hakon's ship, with whole volleys of arrows flying from her fingers, each arrow bringing to one of them his death-wound. Sigwald cut the cable and sailed away, saying, that he had made a vow to fight against men, and not against witches. When Bui the Thick perceived that further resistance was fruitless, he took two chests full of gold, and calling out "Overboard all Peri's men!" plunged with his treasure into the sea and perished. Vagn, however, continued to fight valiantly against the combined forces of the Norwegians; but was at length overpowered and taken prisoner, with thirty of his followers. To reduce such men to slavery was a thing altogether out of the question; for the Danes, as Adam of Bre-

\* Mundy's Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, i., 309.

† Mundy's Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, i., 319.

\* Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido, ii., 22, 23.

men observes, were so impatient of servitude, that rather than endure it, they immediately took refuge in death. Like Muda Hassim, therefore, in the case of the pirate Budrudeen and his brother-in-law, Jarl Hakon resolved to deliver himself from his prisoners with the axe; and in the morning, after breakfast, he commanded them to be brought forth for execution. We take the narrative from Mallet.

The prisoners being seated on a log of wood with their legs bound together by a rope, withies or osier twigs were twisted in their hair. A slave was then placed behind each, to keep his head steady, by holding fast the withies braided into a band for that purpose. The executioner was no less a personage than Thorkell Leire, one of the most renowned Norwegian chieftains, whose daughter Vagn had vowed to gain possession of without the consent of her relations. Thorkell began his sanguinary task by striking off the head of him who sat outmost on the log. After he had beheaded the next two, he asked the prisoners what they thought of death.

"What happened to my father," replied one, "must happen to me. He died, and so must I."

Another said he remembered too well the laws of Jomsberg to fear dying; a third declared that a glorious death was ever welcome to him, and that such a death was far preferable to an infamous life like that of Thorkell's.

"I only beg of thee," said a fourth, "to be quick over thy work, for thou must know it is a question often discussed at Jomsberg, whether or not a man feels anything after losing his head. I will, therefore, grasp this knife in my hand; if after my head is cut off, I throw it at thee, it will show that I retain some feeling; if I let it fall, it will prove the contrary: strike, therefore, and decide the question without further delay."

Thorkell, says the Saga man, struck off the man's head with a stroke of his battle-axe, but the knife instantly fell to the ground.

"Strike the blow in my face," said the next; "I will sit still without flinching, and take notice whether I ever wink my eyes; for our Jomsberg people know how to meet the stroke of death without betraying any emotion."

He kept his promise, and received the blow without showing the least sign of fear, or so much as winking his eyes. Sigurd, the son of Bui the Thick, a fine young man in the flower of his age, with long fair hair as fine as silk flowing in ringlets over his shoulders, said, in answer to Thorkell's question: "I fear not death, since I have fulfilled the greatest duty of life; but I must pray thee not to let my hair be touched by a slave, or stained with my blood."

One of Hakon's followers then stepped forward and held his hair instead of the slave, but when Thorkell struck the blow Sigurd twitched his head forward so strongly, that the warrior who was holding his hair had both his hands cut off. Eirek, the son of Jarl Hakon, who seems to have relished this practical joke, then came up, and asked Sigurd whether he would have his life spared.

"That depends," replied the youth, "upon who it is that makes me the offer."

"He who has the power to do it, Jarl Eirek," said the son of the Norwegian chieftain.

"From his hand will I accept it," said Sigurd, and he was immediately loosed from the rope. Thorkell, enraged at Eirek's clemency, exclaimed, "If thou

spare the lives of all these men, Jarl, at least Vagn Akason shall not escape me." So saying he ran at Vagn with uplifted axe, but the crafty sea-rover threw himself on the ground, so that Thorkell fell over him and cut the rope with his axe; seeing that, Vagn sprang up, and seizing the weapon, gave Thorkell his death wound. Jarl Eirek, notwithstanding his father's remonstrance, then asked Vagn if he would accept life from his hands.

"Willingly," replied Vagn, "provided thou wilt give it to all of us."

"Loose the rope," said Eirek; and it was done; eighteen had been beheaded, and twelve were spared by Eirek thus interfering, among whom was a Welchman named Bjorn.

To return, however, to the East. Ever since Mohammedanism was planted in the Archipelago, Arab adventurers have strayed thither, with no resources but their courage and their swords, in the hope of erecting sovereignties for themselves among a less energetic and civilized people. To enhance their influence, they have generally affected to be descended from the Prophet, and assumed the name of Sheriffs, under which they have become famous since the publication of Mr. Brooke's journals. Occasionally, in the former records of that part of Asia, we obtained glimpses of these bold men, whose influence, it must be admitted, has been of a mixed character, sometimes highly beneficial to the natives, at others, equally pernicious. That we, contemplating them from a particular point of view, should be inclined to regard them as altogether malevolent and mischievous, is natural enough; since they now stand in our way and obstruct the efforts we are resolved on making for the regeneration of the Archipelago. But we must not forget that there was a time, in which the Sheriffs seem to have done good service. Making their appearance among a half-savage race, and bringing along with them a knowledge of the Koran and of the first principles of civilized society, they naturally asserted their superiority over the Malays and Dyaks; who willingly succumbed to the authority of their new masters—especially when, by so doing, they opened to themselves the prospect of riches and power, subordinate, indeed, to those of their chief, but greater than they could ever expect to acquire without his co-operation.

No evidence, we believe, exists by which the progress of civilization in the Archipelago can be traced further back than to the disciples of the Koran; who appear to have been the founders of nearly all the states which acquired any celebrity, or enjoyed any durable existence in Borneo, Celebes, or any other of the larger islands. There, no doubt, as everywhere else, Mohammedan civilization has exhibited a gross and unspiritual character; rising to a certain height, and displaying a considerable amount of splendor, but speedily degenerating, because resting on an imperfect ethical basis. Still the Arab adventurers, whatever they may now be, must be admitted, we think, to have been useful in their day, and to have roused the Malays and Dyaks from their apathy:—imparting

to them a vigorous impulse, though with a direction, generally, perhaps, towards evil, but sometimes also towards good.

Even in the present age it is impossible not to admire the success with which a few solitary Arabs have erected for themselves a fabric of power in Borneo and elsewhere. Arriving, penniless and unknown, among savage and ignorant races, they at once inspire them with respect for their persons by their courage and sagacity, teach them to construct houses and plan villages, to cultivate the soil, to lay out gardens and plant fruit trees, and to surround themselves with all the elements of comfort known or requisite in those regions. Unfortunately the shortest road to affluence lies not through the paths of labor. Deriving subsistence from honest toil, they aim at wealth and power through violence; and submitting themselves to the direction of the most vigorous and daring spirits, they take to piracy as the most promising profession. While the Sheriffs, therefore, in their relation to the communities they create and govern, must be admitted to be benefactors—since they organize and keep them together, augment their means, and render them independent; in relation to external communities not in alliance with them, they are so many pernicious scourges. Having, by an abuse of their advantages, acquired wealth, they often put it out to interest in the most iniquitous manner. For instance, by advancing money, arms, gunpowder, salt, and provisions to the Illanuns, Balanini, and Sea Dyaks, to be afterwards repaid in slaves and plunder, they are evidently the main supporters of the system of piracy, as well as of the slave-trade, which is one of its necessary consequences. Mr. Brooke, therefore, is perfectly right in denouncing the Sheriffs as the worst enemies of civilization in the Archipelago; because, though they reclaim and refine up to a certain point, they stop short there; and, by tolerating, or rather perhaps inculcating, the most immoral principles, prevent the healthful and spontaneous growth of society.

Some prejudiced writers have sought to give currency to the opinion that all the pirates of the eastern seas are Mohammedans; and that they owe their propensity to dishonesty to the doctrines of the Koran. This is a great mistake. It generally happens, no doubt, as well in Borneo as in other of the islands, that the mouths of the great navigable rivers are possessed by Muslims—the descendants sometimes of genuine Arabs, but more frequently Malay or Illanun converts to the tenets of El Islam. In obedience to an instinct which appears to be of universal operation in the Mohammedan world, all these people betake themselves to trade, build vessels, and spend a large portion of their lives upon the sea. In passing to and from island to island, they meet with boats and canoes laden with property more or less valuable, and belonging, perhaps, to persons altogether unwelcome. The temptation is too strong to be resisted. Traders themselves, but with martial habits and aptitudes, they forget the duties of their peace-

ful calling, seize the goods of the defenceless merchants, and enter upon the career of piracy. If resistance be offered, they convert it into a pretext for massacre; or if captives be taken, refractoriness and stubborn self-defence supply their enraged captors with an apology for reducing them to slavery. In every island and on every coast towns and villages are found, where goods and captives thus obtained may be disposed of. Few mercantile operations are as profitable as slave-dealing. The pirates, therefore, despising ordinary plunder, apply themselves chiefly to the collection of captives, mostly women and children, who are retained in servitude without difficulty; while the men, because more dangerous, are, for the most part, murdered.

In this way we may presume the thing took its rise, and gradually acquired strength. At present there exist large piratical communities capable of sending forth annually fleets manned with five or six thousand men. We allude chiefly to Sulu. This state, which was formerly thought worthy to be denominated an empire, extends its authority over large groups of islands—many of them fertile in all the necessities of life—but chiefly remarkable for the production of men who, with the reputation of being contaminated with every vice, yet possess the virtue of courage in the highest degree. Vice and profligacy, divorce, slavery, revenge, assassinations, murders, are said to be the every-day amusements of the people; who yet increase in an extraordinary manner, carefully cultivate their lands, and addict themselves unremittingly to the laborious and dangerous enterprises of commerce and piracy. We must infer, therefore, that vice is not so rife as is pretended in the Sulu Islands, or that its effects are less enervating than we have been accustomed to believe; for although the territories of the state have, by a combination of circumstances, been greatly curtailed, there is no indication of any falling off in bravery, no symptom of a disposition to quail even before a European force. Again and again have these islanders been engaged in contests with Spain; and although the civilization of that country, spurious and imperfect as it is, ultimately triumphed in the conflict—so far, at least, as to lead to the conclusion of an advantageous peace—yet the Sulus seem to have invariably displayed preëminent courage, and ultimately to have yielded only to overwhelming numbers, or before the influence of European discipline.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the sultanate of Sulu, in addition to the four groups of which it now consists, comprehended the whole northern division of Borneo, down to the river Kimanis, the larger half of Palawan, and some indefinite settlements on Magindanão. Its maritime power was then truly formidable; and the Dutch, who alone, at that period, interfered in the internal affairs of the Archipelago, seem always to have carefully avoided any collision with this brave and adventurous people. Nor, even in our own time, has any effectual check been given, either by Great Britain or by Holland, to their



daring depredations. We have already alluded to their numbers. About the month of April the fleet, consisting of two or three hundred prahus, well manned and armed, sets sail from the capital; and, separating into two divisions, sweeps round the whole island of Borneo, landing at intervals, firing villages, collecting captives, and plundering and devastating for several miles inland. The mischief perpetrated is often done for its own sake. They pull down cottages, destroy gardens, and fell the young betel and cocoa-nut trees, to try, perhaps, the temper of their sabres. Having wasted and destroyed the whole face of the country, they move on like locust-swarms, swelling the number of their captives, and gorged with the spoils of the wretched inhabitants. In this way they proceed as far as the Straits of Sunda; and then, facing about to the east, attack the coast of Java, capturing occasionally Dutchmen and their wives, and selling them wherever they find such articles in request. As long as they find their voyages answer, they push on towards the rising sun: but, in due time, they encounter the Papuan from New Guinea, who, being out on the same errand, are generally too well armed and far too watchful to be made prizes of. Having pursued their career, therefore, as far as it is attended with profit, the Sulus retrace their steps—crowding northwards through the Moluccas, lay the subjects of Holland under contribution—and return with diamonds, gold, spices, and slaves, to enjoy themselves during the rest of the year in their beautiful and healthful islands.

The Sulus, who are an extremely mixed race, regard themselves, and seem to be regarded by others, as the bravest and most resolute pirates in the Archipelago; since they do not confine their depredations to the attack of native prahus or Chinese junks, but boldly assail and board square-rigged vessels, though manned, in part at least, with European crews. A traveller who resided six months in the principal island furnishes a curious list of the captures made during that period, that is to say, of such as came to his knowledge, which probably constituted but a small part of the whole. His account is imperfect, inasmuch as he often omits to notice the character of the crew, while he points out the nature of the cargo. The first capture he saw brought in was a Spanish brig, laden with sundries from Manilla; to this succeeded twenty smaller craft, probably belonging to the same native owner, all taken among the Philippines. Then followed in the prahus of the Sulus themselves a thousand slaves, kidnapped from the same islands; who were all sold at Sulu, but whether for domestic use, or for exportation, does not appear. To these triumphs over the Spanish flag were soon added others over those of England and the Netherlands—first, the capture of a paddiwakan from Macassar, commanded by a Dutchman, who was afterwards ransomed for the sum of twelve hundred Spanish dollars; and then that of six smaller craft under

English colors in the Malacca seas, and an English brig, of which the whole crew was murdered.

When Sir Edward Belcher visited Sulu, in 1844, such was the state of things he found there; and he can have expected nothing else. A few days before his arrival, three piratical prahus, which had been cruising among the Philippines, came in with their cargo of female prisoners, and sold them openly in the slave market. The datu melook, or prime minister, was said, and apparently not without reason, to be deeply implicated in this and similar transactions. Human nature is probably the same at Sulu as at Cuba: and, we fear, Captain Belcher will have vainly threatened them with the vengeance of the British flag, should the sultan persist in making Sulu a place of refuge for the Balanini when under pursuit for acts of piracy.

An attempt has been made to enumerate the stations in the Sulu islands at which the pirates keep their war prahus, and from which they issue on their plundering expeditions. But the undertaking is useless, and the details would be tiresome. It is sufficient to remark, that among the several hundred islands and islets of which the Sulu group consists, there is not one enjoying the advantage of a harbor or accessible beach, which does not, at the proper season of the year, augment the strength of piracy in the Archipelago; and, as the buccaneers of these islands are distinguished from all others by their superior bravery, so do their fleets consist of larger and more skilfully built prahus, capable of carrying heavy guns and a numerous crew.

In the dominions of the Sulus the Balanini possess a group of islets, in which they leave their wives and families while they themselves are engaged in their piratical excursions. These people are generally believed to be a tribe of Bajows or Sea Gipsies, who, at some period beyond the reach of tradition, made their appearance in the Archipelago, though from what part of the world they came is altogether unknown. In this respect they resemble the Gipsies of Europe and Western Asia. Several divisions of the race, now found dispersed through the whole extent of Insular Asia, subsist by their own honest industry, which includes fishing for trepang, pearls, mother-o'-pearl, agar-agar, &c. But the Balanini, finding piracy more profitable, have abandoned altogether the peaceful pursuits of their brethren, and now scour the Archipelago from east to west, from north to south, in search of plunder and captives. They have been met on the north-west coast of Borneo, having on board their prahus slaves from Papua and the Philippines; and at other seasons of the year, extend their depredations to Patani and other provinces on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula.

Within the last few months, an expedition, consisting of several war steamers, was fitted out from Manilla against the Balanini, and proceeded to attack them in their island, which has been

described from report by Sir Edward Belcher. Their strongholds are situated on the edge of a lagoon, communicating with the sea by a narrow channel, strongly staked across, so as barely to leave room for the passage of a single prahu. Their batteries, consisting of at least a hundred guns, are all pointed upon this spot. The Spaniards, however, forced an entrance, and, after a long and sanguinary engagement, succeeded in capturing the batteries, and taking all the prahus they found in the lagoon. For the present, therefore, the force of the Balanini may be regarded as broken, and their principal stronghold dismantled. We heartily wish, in return, that the Balanini could make reprisals upon Spanish slavers off the coast of Africa.

Similar in character are the fierce Illanuns from Magindanão; who in Borneo, Palāwan, and elsewhere, have carved themselves out small independent principalities with the sword. Sir Edward Belcher has collected much curious information respecting these rovers from the great Bay of Illanun, the original seat of their power, whence also they have derived their name. Here they live nominally independent of the Sultan of Magindanão, though in reality they are still subject to him; since, whenever any foreign power has business to transact with the Illanuns, it makes an application to that prince, through whose intervention the affair is invariably settled. The description of the Bay and its fierce inhabitants is given in Captain Belcher's own words:—

The shores (he says) of the immense bay of Illanun, on the southern part of Magindanão, the eastern arm of which forms a peninsula with a very narrow neck, are closely wooded, with mangroves running out, in most instances, into six or nine feet water, and affording sudden shelter for vessels drawing about six feet water. These trees, springing from roots which firmly support the main trunks at a height of seven or eight feet above high-water flow, cover the swampy ground which intervenes between them and a spacious lagoon, the stronghold of the Illanun pirates, and gives to them the appellation of *Las Illanos de la Laguna*, where it is highly probable they submit to their own pirate chiefs. Throughout the vast range of the bay connected with this lagoon, the Illanuns have constructed numerous substantial escapes, being ways of timber which permit of their hauling the vessels into the lagoon upon any sudden emergency; and so amazingly expert are they in this manœuvre, that, when in hot chase, my informants have pressed them close and considered their escape impossible, they have seen them dash suddenly into one of these escapes, and before their faluas or launches could reach the spot, they had been hauled out of sight, and upon presenting themselves at the opening, were saluted by a discharge of round and grape from heavy brass guns, placed in battery and so far within this dangerous jungle that attack was impossible. It is also a well-known fact, that the whole line of the bay is vigilantly watched by vigias, or look-out houses, within lofty trees, and immediately on the alarm being given, ropes are instantly led to the point of entry, and the home population is ready to aid in hauling them through the mangroves, as well as to defend them from

further attack. The method of constructing these escapes is very simple; mangrove trees are driven, at opposite angles, obliquely into the mud, and their upper ends securely lashed to the young standing mangrove trees, forming a V-shaped bed, at an angle of 120 degrees. These trees being stripped of their bark are kept very smooth, and when wet spontaneously exude a kind of mucilage which renders them very slippery. The outer entrance of this angular bed is carried into deep water, and at so gradual an inclination that the original impetus given by the oars forces them at once "high and dry," and by the ropes then attached they are instantly drawn by their allies into the interior, at a rate, probably, equal to that at which they are impelled by oars.

The slaves who have escaped from the Illanuns assert that within the lagoon they have extensive building establishments, and means prepared for repelling any attack which may be made upon them. Old prahus are used instead of houses; in these they keep their wives, families, or treasures, in readiness for removal to any part of the lagoon upon the approach of danger.

The ideas which commonly prevail in Europe on the subject of Malay piracy, are exceedingly vague and imperfect. Few have been at the pains to acquaint themselves with the extent and resources of the Archipelago, without which the number of piratical communities, the strength of their fleets and the large range of their expeditions can scarcely appear credible. Even after instituting numerous and careful researches, it is still difficult to account for many circumstances in the actual *status* of oriental piracy, which yet seem to be undeniable. In many cases European merchant vessels, as well as the trading prahus of the natives, are attacked by corsairs of whose haunts we are altogether uninformed. A large portion of the surrounding seas, it is true, remains unsurveyed; and there are numerous islands, we may, perhaps, venture to say whole groups, of which we scarcely know the names, and certainly neither their longitude nor latitude. From these unknown places many of the pirates who visit the north of Borneo are supposed to issue; but they are chiefly found in the seas about Magindanão, and south and east of the Philippines.

Some idea, however, may be formed of the unexplored piratical haunts by an account of those with which we are better acquainted. Along nearly the whole eastern coast of Celebes the rajahs and their subjects are almost all pirates and possess numerous fleets of prahus, which may be seen at all times drawn up on the beach at high-water mark with their ammunition and arms on board, ready to be launched at a moment's notice. According to the sultan of Koti, the chief of Kylie alone possessed a thousand prahu: at the most moderate computation some few years ago he had at least seven hundred at his command. Many other rajahs, whose strongholds lie south of Kylie, own from a hundred and fifty to two hundred and forty prahus, all engaged in piracy. On the opposite coast of Borneo, from Cape Unsang

southwards, for upwards of a thousand miles, every river, creek, and bay may be said to be occupied by piratical communities, the number of whose prahus taken together would make a maritime power of considerable importance. These prahus are from eight to ten tons burden, admirably built both for speed and safety. They depend for velocity partly on their light and sharp build, partly on the number of paddles, which are managed with great vigor and skill. They are generally armed on their bows, centre, and stern, with *lelahs* or swivels of small calibre but long range; and when their prey has been disabled by these, their crews, at the sound of the gong or tom-tom, rush to the conflict with long boarding spears, *krisses*, Malay hatchets, swords, muskets, blunderbusses, and a variety of missiles, such as stones and sticks pointed and burnt at the end. Sir Edward Belcher observes that—

The vessels of the Illanuns are very sharp, of great beam, and exceeding ninety feet in length. They are furnished with double tiers of oars, and the largest generally carry about one hundred rowers, who are slaves, and not expected to fight unless hard pressed. The fighting men, or chiefs as they are termed, amounting to thirty or forty, occupy the upper platform, and use the guns as well as small *lelahs*, or swivels. The whole of the main interior, occupying about two thirds of the beam and three fifths of the length of the vessel, is fitted as a cabin; it extends from one fifth from forward to one fifth from aft, and at the bow is solidly built, with the whole length of the vessel with hard wood, and baulks of timber calculated to withstand a six-pounder shot; a very small embrasure admits the muzzle of the gun, which varies from the six to the twenty-four pounder, generally of brass, independently of numerous swivels of various calibres mounted on solid uprights secured about the sides and upperworks of the vessel. Above the cabin is the fighting deck, upon which their heroes are placed, and upon any chance of action they dress themselves in scarlet, and are equipped very much in the style of armor furnished for the stage property of our theatres, varying from steel-plate to ring-chain or mail-shirt. Their personal arms are generally the kris and spear; but they have also a huge sword, well known as the "Lanoon sword," which has a handle sufficiently large to be wielded with two hands. In place of a mast they have sheers, capable of being raised or depressed suddenly, upon which a huge mat sail is hoisted.

The fitting of these sheers is as follows: on the fore part of the fighting deck is a small pair of bits, each little head being placed about three feet on each side of the centre line; through the head of these bits a piece runs, windlass fashion, its outer ends being rounded, which pass through the lower end of the sheers in holes; this arrangement completes a triangle, having the windlass base of six feet. The heads of the sheers are joined by a solid piece of wood, perforated as a sheave hole for the halliards by which the sail is hoisted; a third spar is attached, which taken aft as a prop, instantly turns this mast upon its windlass motion to the vertical, and almost, as if by magic, we find the sail expanded or reduced instantaneously.

It is surprising that these prahus should not be

blown up more frequently than they are—considering the large quantity of powder they usually have on board. Even the very smallest carry two barrels, those of middling size five, while the larger class have rarely less than fourteen or fifteen on board. It has sometimes been made a question, who supplies them with this gunpowder. The criminality is shared by every European nation: numerous ships with English colors having been found to be engaged in the trade; though we would willingly hope that there are grounds for believing that the chief supply is obtained from the French, the Chinese, and the Americans. With respect to the last, a writer of great experience ingeniously observes that humanity is much indebted to them; since the powder they sell will not go off, and he who fires their muskets is in far greater danger than the person fired at. The Dutch government strictly forbids its subjects to traffic in these dangerous articles.

The seasons in which the pirates make their appearance in the several parts of the Archipelago, are tolerably well known: it might, therefore, be supposed that vessels and prahus would avoid putting to sea at these times. But persons engaged in trade cannot allow their capital to lie idle for months, and remain themselves cooped up in harbor through apprehensions of danger, which after all may never overtake them. Besides, it is the course of commerce which regulates the motions of the pirates; so that, if the merchants changed the period of putting to sea, their enemies would do the same, and no advantage would be gained by the alteration. At present the buccaneers are found cruising about the Straits of Malacca in the months of October, November, December and January; after which they apply themselves to honest industry during three months in the year, viz., February, March, and April—these they spend in fishing, collecting agar-agar, and preparing for future expeditions. Throughout the whole summer they make their appearance on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, and among the innumerable small islands which lie along the shores of Sumatra from Singapore southwards, as far as the Straits of Banka. In other parts of the Archipelago the pirates select other seasons for their depredations, being guided by the movements of the merchants upon whom they prey. As a general rule, they do not assault ships under sail; but taking advantage of the short lull between the land and sea-breezes—when vessels often lie completely becalmed at a short distance from the shore—they steal out quietly, gliding behind rocks and islands till they come suddenly upon the doomed trader. During fogs and bad weather they have occasionally made mistakes which have proved fatal to them.

On one occasion a favorite Panglima of Rajah Raga, the celebrated pirate of Koti, observed early in the morning a vessel lying at anchor. The rain, which was then descending in torrents, darkening the air, appeared to favor the Panglima's



design; he succeeded in consequence in approaching very near his victims before he was discovered. He then ordered all his *lelahs* to be discharged; and at the sound of the gong, the pirates, one hundred and forty-six in number, with loud shouts, prepared for boarding. The *Panglima* was on the instant made aware of the error he had committed. In the sides of the vessel which he had devoted to destruction numerous portholes opened suddenly, and a tremendous broadside carried dismay and death among his followers. In vain the *Panglima* shouted that it was all a mistake and that they meant no harm; broadside after broadside was discharged, till the shattered *prahu* sank to the bottom, and every man on board excepting five. These floated away on spars, and were rescued by their countrymen. The enemy deeming them unworthy of quarter, refused to pick up the helpless wretches, and sternly abandoned them to the fate which their crimes so richly had deserved. The avenging ship was an English man-of-war.

To illustrate the justice of so terrible a chastisement, we must relate one of the innumerable acts of villany by which it was provoked. Shortly before, an English vessel, under Dutch colors, had left the Malacca straits, laden with opium and piece goods, and passing down along the coast of Sumatra, carried on an advantageous traffic with the natives. It then sailed over to the coast of Borneo, traded at Sambas and Pontiana, and rounding the southern point of the island, cast anchor in the *Banjarmassin* river. Here Captain Gravesome had the misfortune to fall in with the *Raga* himself; who learning the great value of the cargo, and that there was, besides rice, the sum of twenty-four thousand dollars on board, put forth all his arts of persuasion to allure the captain to *Koti*. Gravesome entertaining no suspicion of the pirate's designs, easily allowed himself to be persuaded; and once more setting sail, steered eastward, along that wild and naked shore in which the island of Borneo terminates towards the south-east. Here, for the space of a thousand square miles, a plain so barren as scarcely to produce a single blade of grass, borders upon the sea. It is supposed to be replete with iron ore: and that this is the reason, why mariners at night behold its surface perpetually covered with lightning, which darting hither and thither in all directions, illuminates its arid surface, and presents a spectacle of surprising grandeur. Innumerable rocky islands extend along the inhospitable coast, but they are too waste, precipitous, and full of danger, for the most desperate pirates to visit them without necessity. Captain Gravesome was of course careful to give these crags a wide berth. At length he entered the *Koti* river, up which he sailed without interruption, seventy or eighty miles. Here *Raga* advised him to cast anchor, while he proceeded to the Sultan's capital to negotiate permission for him to trade. His real purpose, however, was very different, being nothing less than to concert

with that infamous prince the murder of Captain Gravesome and his crew, and the seizure of the ship with all the property it contained. The agreement is said to have been drawn up in writing; by which it was stipulated that the Sultan should have one third of the spoils, while the remainder was to be distributed between *Rajah Raga* and the other *Bugis* chiefs who should assist him in the massacre. All things having been thus arranged, *Raga* returned to the vessel, and descending into the cabin, began to amuse Captain Gravesome with accounts of the large profits he would make at *Tongarron*. In the midst of their conversation, he took down a beautiful kris which was suspended from the ceiling of the cabin; and, while continuing an animated description of their advantageous commercial prospects, suddenly plunged the weapon into the captain's heart. His followers, who had skilfully dispersed themselves throughout the ship, fell at the same moment upon the crew, and murdered them all with the exception of five individuals;—among whom were an unhappy young lady and a boy, who, having escaped many dangers, were afterwards poisoned at *Tongarron*, in the hope of thus concealing from the English the crime which had been committed. When Dalton, under somewhat more favorable auspices, visited *Koti* and other places on the eastern coast, he found everywhere numerous relics of European ships which had been plundered and destroyed by the natives—such as compasses, telescopes, binnacles, chronometers, chairs, and tables. On one of these he wrote his account of Captain Gravesome's murder. In several houses he also observed articles of ladies' wearing apparel, handsome dresses and costly pelisses, though what had become of their owners he was unable to discover. Once in front of a chief's mansion, he saw a European woman, who, through fear or shame, immediately retreated. He was secretly informed, however, that numerous white slaves were scattered over the country; some of whom were condemned to perform the vilest drudgery, in a climate where even the natives are rendered languid by the heat. Our imagination follows with difficulty the sorrows and sufferings of such captives, when subjected to men so fierce and lawless. What extremity of misery must they inevitably endure, before they sink into an early grave! Such, however, has unquestionably been the fate of thousands of Europeans in various parts of the Archipelago; while the multitudes of natives who have been made to drain the same bitter cup, exceeds calculation or belief. On the north-western coast the crews of the "*Sultana*" and "*Viscount Melbourne*," of whom only twenty-six survived the wreck, were sold as slaves, and afterwards ransomed by Mr. Brooke. But in the immense majority of cases there is no one to interfere. The captives mostly linger out their wretched lives under the lash of their most cruel task-masters, until relieved by death.

To put an end to the vast piratical system of which we have been endeavoring to give the

reader some idea, we must adopt a policy altogether different from that which has been hitherto pursued. We perfectly concur with those, who counsel the closing against them of all the markets at which they have been accustomed to dispose of their spoils and captives. But this is very far from being an easy operation. They have more than once been known to plunder vessels and native prahus in the vicinity of Singapore; after which, transshipping the goods they had thus obtained into small trading boats and disguising themselves as merchants, they have sailed boldly into the port, sold their plunder, purchased arms and ammunition with the proceeds, and then returned to their calling without being discovered. If this can take place at a British settlement visited constantly by ships of war, how much more practicable must it be in other parts of the Archipelago, where slaves are in request, and where the rulers, through both interest and inclination, always wink at, and usually encourage, these nefarious proceedings?

Mr. Brooke has shown, by what he has effected in Sarawak and the adjoining districts, in what way the evil is to be extirpated. It is not enough to destroy a bad government; we must replace it by a good one. Otherwise the seeds of mischief, like those of trees in a spot cleared of jungle and abandoned, will shoot up again with astonishing rapidity, and soon create the necessity for having again recourse to force. Sarawak is tranquil, because it is under British influence; and the occupation of Labuan will speedily bestow quiet and prosperity on the whole sultanate of Borneo, from the Rejang northward to Maludu Bay. In this range formerly were found some of the most celebrated haunts and markets of the pirates, whose prahus frequently lay concealed in the small inlets and creeks of that island which has now become a British possession. Bruné itself was the principal emporium of piracy in the East; slaves and plunder were constantly conveyed there, to be afterwards distributed through the interior, or transhipped for distant places. This market has now been closed forever; and as our influence takes root in the great island and spreads northward and southward, it will be rendered altogether impossible for a buccaneering prahu to put with safety into any of its ports.

To complete the work we have thus commenced, and give fair play to our trade and settlements, we cannot wait and trust to the gradual development of our influence; we must consider the urgency of the occasion a sufficient reason for the application of extraordinary means. Increase of territory is, for its own sake, no way desirable. We have colonies enough, and dependencies enough. But to protect our actual possessions and give security to our communications with Australia, which will henceforward be carried on by steam through this mighty archipelago, it will be incumbent on us to convert the principal strongholds of piracy into peaceful settlements or naval stations. No other plan can prove effectual. As long as the buc-

caneers remain in possession of convenient ports and harbors, even the total destruction of their fleets would only produce temporary security. Whenever we break up their power, we must establish our own; otherwise our avenging squadrons will no sooner have withdrawn, than the building of war prahus will recommence and create anew the necessity for fresh expeditions. We need not enumerate the points where the great roots of piracy are found; they are not many, though the branches which rise and spread from them may almost be said to overshadow the Archipelago. But whatever may be their number, to the permanent occupation of them we, and whoever will coöperate with us in this work of peace, shall ultimately be driven; because experience will by degrees convince us, that to temporize is to have nothing certain but the expense.

We repeat, therefore, that in order to ensure success to this great enterprise it will be necessary to establish small, well-chosen settlements in the principal tracts of commerce, and, consequently, of piracy. These we may convert into coal depots and stations for steamers, as well as into commercial emporiums. When this is once accomplished, the native traders, aware of the protection afforded by the British flag, will redouble their activity, and apply all their energies to the development of the resources of the Archipelago; but not till then. Civilization has no greater change in prospect.

We avoid indicating more particularly the sites of such settlements, though government must in various ways become acquainted with them. It would not be difficult, however, to fix upon certain points, sufficiently central though widely scattered, on which, if a small force were placed, piracy must immediately die out of itself. This would at once be a better and a cheaper course, than keeping up large naval armaments to pursue and chastise the buccaneers on the high seas. Instead of encountering them abroad, we should proceed directly to their homes; and there, with our ships of war anchored at their very thresholds, dictate the terms on which we would, henceforward, tolerate their existence as communities. If we found them refractory and disposed to resistance, we should rase their strongholds to the ground, and utterly break up and disperse their populations. But in all cases we must utterly annihilate their war prahus; since, if we undertake the police of the Archipelago, none of those petty states can have the slightest pretext for carrying arms of this description.

We are, of course, aware that some will condemn this mode of proceeding as violent and arbitrary, will denominate us pirates on a grand scale, and contend that we are only putting smaller robbers out of the way that we ourselves may carry on the game without let or hindrance. We would invite such persons to consider the history of the Archipelago: by which, should they be persons open to conviction, they will soon be rendered sensible of the folly and inutility of any other course.

Ever since the period of Jenghis Khan, the whole of Insular Asia, if we except the Japanese Empire, may be shown to have been kept in barbarism by means of piracy. We need look for no other cause. Hitherto the arrival of Europeans, so far from destroying it by an adverse influence, has, unfortunately, only added to its strength. This effect, has, no doubt, been incidental. Before the advent of the Portuguese, there existed several native governments, both in Borneo and elsewhere, which were sufficiently powerful to keep piracy in awe, and to dispense altogether with the necessity of entering into a disgraceful alliance with it. Up to that period, therefore, robbers on the high seas in the Archipelago belonged to the same class with pirates in the West; that is to say, they consisted of desperate adventurers, who, being without property or profession, determined to reap a harvest with their swords. But when, by the intrigues and cruelty of the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, the native governments had been destroyed one after another, there soon arose a new race of spurious rulers. These men readily allied themselves with the powers of evil, in the hope of being ultimately able to assert their ascendancy over the common enemy, the marauders from the West. Piracy in this state of things, would be often confounded with patriotism; and that became a virtue which, in nearly all circumstances of society, is the worst of crimes. Villains put on the character of heroes; and the united force of vice, fanaticism, and cupidity, as well as the innate reverence of all men for their hearths and altars, were called into action in unavailing opposition to worse brigands than the Archipelago itself could supply. For more than two centuries this corrupting conflict was carried on. Habit is second nature, or nature first habit:—it does not much matter which. Every European who appeared in those parts evidently regarded it as his duty to plunder and oppress the natives; they in their turn learned to look upon every act as venial which might tend to rid them of their foreign tyrants.

In this way a strange kind of public opinion has grown up in the Archipelago, where to commit piracy, especially against Europeans, is regarded rather as a commendable action than as a crime. Nor must we, on this account, be too severe on these unhappy islanders. They remain much what they were when they first came into contact with our profligate predecessors; while we, enlightened by civilization, have almost acquired a new sense of justice, and have taught ourselves to regard as grave offences against humanity what our forefathers perpetrated without a blush. The improvement which we have made in morals and politics, should oblige us, however, to all practicable lenity towards them on this occasion. Their theory of ethics—or what we may call such—is, to the last degree, perverted; they are often unconscious that piracy is a crime—insomuch that when several unfortunate men, apprehended in the fact, were about to be executed at Singapore, they exclaimed against the injustice of the sen-

tence;—considering they had done nothing but what was right, since they had only obeyed the orders of their superiors, and had acted in strict conformity with the established customs of their country. Of course we are not going the length of maintaining that virtue and vice are arbitrary creations of the mind: we may yet be permitted to remark, that morals vary so much in different countries, that there is always a feeling of severity, if not of wrong, in rigorously applying the ethical code of one community to the members of another.

Still we have no desire to blunt the sword of justice when the natural progress of an honest policy in the Archipelago turns it against pirates. Wasps' nests must be taken. If pirates are consulting their own interest in perpetrating acts of robbery, we shall, in our turn, be consulting the interests of humanity by punishing them. It is not our fault that we cannot develop legitimate commerce without suppressing, or perhaps destroying, them. Some tremendous examples have already been made; and, if necessary, we must make others, until the lesson has spread through the length and breadth of the twelve thousand islands, that it is no longer lawful to rob on the high seas. At the same time we again repeat, that whatever can be effected by mildness and policy, should never be attempted by force—especially under such circumstances.

For the interest of humanity, however, it is incumbent on us to succeed, at any rate, in this enterprise; and, if we faithfully perform our duty, in a very few years there will not be left throughout the whole extent of the Archipelago one single piratical prahu.

Let us not, however, be supposed to be recommending a system of indiscriminate conquest. We are, on the contrary, averse from territorial aggrandizement for its own sake; and if we extend our dominions, it will be for no other purpose than to give persecuted and wretched humanity some solid *point d'appui* on which to repose in the Indian Archipelago. We not only admit, but we rejoice to think, that our own interest coincides with that of the natives in the measures we propose: a coincidence which, though it may expose us to suspicions among our rivals, is in itself a fortunate circumstance, since men never act so vigorously as where their own welfare is concerned. The introduction of a just and enlightened policy has become absolutely necessary, and will be well rewarded. No regions of equal extent on the surface of the globe supply equally rich and varied materials for commerce, ranging from gold and gems of the costliest kind down to the humblest necessary of daily life. The superb vegetation of the islands—their picturesque and magnificent forms—their fertility—their mild and salubrious climate—all combine to render them the most agreeable residences for man. Merchants, therefore, and capitalists will, as soon as their attractions become known, hasten to settle in a country, where, in the midst of delicious groves and gardens, and on the banks of magnificent rivers, they may carry on, at their



ease, the most lucrative trade. In many cases the natives will take upon themselves all the laborious and dangerous parts of the process, collecting the produce of the interior among the wild tribes, and afterwards, undertaking to distribute it, in their prahus. All they themselves want is protection; having which, they will not long remain poor.

Of this, all must be convinced who are acquainted with the advances already made by commerce in the twelve thousand islands. Almost at every step towards the interior we have discovered some new article of merchandise, some valuable kind of timber, some odoriferous gum, some species of root, or fruit, or grain, not yet included in the catalogue of human food, some rich mineral or vegetable dye calculated to improve the beauty of our European fabrics; and yet we have hitherto scarcely stepped beyond the threshold of Borneo, Celebes, Palawan, Magindanão, or New Guinea. All beyond the mere fringe of the coast is unknown; though rivers of great breadth and depth court the entrance of steamers, and promise to reveal new lands at every stroke of the paddle.

In the interior of Borneo there are mountainous regions which afford an European climate, where settlers from this country might locate themselves without the smallest apprehension of suffering from the heat. Yet to all appearance these ranges are fertile to their summits, and, under judicious management, would not only support a crowded population, but contribute innumerable new products to commerce. Their present inhabitants exist in a state of the most primitive wildness, scarcely possessing any clothing beyond what their own rude art can manufacture; no sooner, however, do they behold our goods than they desire to possess them, and betake themselves to the collecting of beeswax, birds' nests, camphor, or whatever else they find will be received in exchange for handkerchiefs, or sarongs, or petticoats. Men are nowhere found to remain naked when they can obtain clothing; and the Kadyan or Dyak who has received a sarong or a measure of salt in exchange for gums or beeswax, is much less a savage than his neighbor who has never engaged in so profitable a traffic.

There are many subjects connected with this inquiry, on which we have not touched; not because they are wanting in interest—but because the proper handling of them would betray us into too great length, and because the point which we have selected is the condition precedent to all others. We have said enough for the present; and can only express our hope that the country will go along with us in earnestly pressing on ministers the propriety of taking immediately all such steps as may be necessary for the suppression of piracy and the diffusion of commerce and civilization in the Oriental Archipelago.

In treating this question, we have been compelled to refer to numerous works, old and new, though by far the most useful are those which we have placed at the head of this article. With Sir James

Brooke's Journal, whether published by Captain Mundy or Captain Keppel, the public is already so familiar that we may safely dispense with detailed criticism. Few men have been more adventurous or successful than their distinguished author. Our obligations to him as a nation cannot as yet be estimated, because he has modestly concealed the extent of his services; but his journal will prove a lasting monument of the courage, and perseverance, enterprise, and disinterestedness, which he has displayed in his singular career. Would that the cause of commerce and civilization might always in this manner go hand in hand!

To Sir Edward Belcher's narrative we are also, in common with the public, very greatly indebted; though in the present article, we have only been able to avail ourselves of a very small part of the varied and valuable information it contains. In the wide range of his voyage, Sir Edward Belcher came in contact with the pirates on but few points. He had other work to perform; and his volumes sufficiently show with what skill and ability he performed it.

MANUFACTURE OF INDIA-RUBBER SHOES.—The man of the house returned from the forest about noon, bringing in nearly two gallons of milk, which he had been engaged since daylight in collecting from one hundred and twenty trees that had been tapped upon the previous morning. This quantity of milk he said would suffice for ten pairs of shoes, and when he himself attended to the trees, he could collect the same quantity every morning for several months. In making the shoes, two girls were the artistes, in a little thatched hut which had no opening but the door. From an inverted water-jar, the bottom of which had been broken out for the purpose, issued a column of dense white smoke, from the burning of a species of palm nut, and which so filled the hut, that we could scarcely see the inmates. The lasts used were of wood, exported from the United States, and were smeared with clay, to prevent adhesion. In the leg of each was a long stick, serving as a handle. The last was dipped into the milk, and immediately held over the smoke, which, without much discoloring, dried the surface at once. It was then re-dipped, and the process was repeated a dozen times, until the shoe was of sufficient thickness, care being taken to give a greater number of coatings to the bottom. The whole operation, from the smearing of the last to placing the finished shoe in the sun, required less than five minutes. The shoe was now of a slightly more yellowish hue than the liquid milk, but in the course of a few hours it became of a reddish-brown. After an exposure of twenty-four hours, it is figured as we see upon the imported shoes. This is done by the girls with small sticks of hard wood, or the needle-like spines of some of the palms. Stamping has been tried, but without success. The shoe is now cut from the last, and is ready for sale, bringing a price of from ten to twelve vintens or cents per pair. It is a long time before they assume the black hue. Brought to the city they are assorted, the best being laid aside for exportation as shoes, the others as waste rubber.—*Edwards' Voyage up the Amazon.*

From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

PROGRESS OF LIBERAL INSTITUTIONS IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

THE North American Review expresses its belief that the day is at hand for a final and complete separation from the mother country, of the British continental possessions in North America. That the development of liberal principles in the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, has been astonishingly rapid, is evinced by the establishment in power of the party that represents them, and by the predominance of all the measures for which it contended previously to its assumption of office, as the law of the land. But the very comprehensiveness of the changes introduced into the system of colonial government, and the readiness, almost amounting to anticipation, with which concessions are made to colonial demands, have so effectually redressed all real grievances and left so few personal disabilities existing, that there scarcely remains a basis for dissatisfaction or discontent. And in view of the vast substantial benefits which are constantly accruing to the colonies, especially in the province of Canada, from British sagacity, enterprise, and capital, there seems no motive for disruption, but every inducement of interest to strengthen the tie that secures to them a participation in the resources of the British empire. Even the writer above referred to, somewhat inconsistently with his anticipations of Canadian independence, says, in allusion to the relinquishment by the British government of control over the commerce of the colonies, to the impending abolition of the imperial custom-houses and the withdrawal of revenue officers—it is fortunate for us that such concessions were not offered to the whigs of our revolution, or they and their descendants would have remained British subjects down to the present day.

But the appetite for freedom is only stimulated by the enjoyment of its sweets; and we should not be surprised, if, having secured what is termed responsible government—to wit, a ministry representing the predominant public feeling of the province—and, further, the exclusion of natives of England from holding any other office in the colony than that of governor—the men of Canada should ultimately insist on a practical recognition of their right to participate in all the employments of the British empire, on the appointment of a governor born in the colony, and on a representation in the imperial parliament, as the alternative of their independence. Even now the most popular writers on political topics constantly present to public view the contrast between the rights and liberties enjoyed in the United States, and the restrictions imposed upon the colonists—a practice which only a few years since, the public sentiment of the British provinces refused to tolerate.

A brief exposition of the course of public events in Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, during the last three years, will serve to show the rapid development of liberal ideas. The attempt of Lord Elgin, on his arrival at Montreal last year,

to conciliate the liberals, by offering them an equal representation in a coalition ministry, having failed, that party continued to offer a strenuous opposition in the assembly, and renewed an agitation in the country which resulted in a complete triumph at the hustings early in 1848, the liberals having returned a majority of thirty-four in a house of eighty-four members. The most prominent of these are men who, during Lord Durham's prefecture, were imprisoned or banished, or declared traitors and outlaws, with a price set upon their heads, for participation in the rebellion of 1837; and some of this proscribed class occupy seats in the cabinet of the governor-general. Yet the assembly is conspicuous above all its predecessors for the talents, political experience, and wealth of its members, and the country is prosperous under an enlightened rule.

At the close of Lord Falkland's unfortunate administration of the government of Nova Scotia, in the summer of 1846, Sir John Harvey was transferred from Newfoundland to that province; and much was anticipated from his moderation, coolness and sagacity—evinced while governor of New Brunswick, in the negotiation respecting the north eastern boundary of the United States, the satisfactory settlement of which he was greatly instrumental in producing—when the same qualities should be applied to reconciling and healing the differences and personal enmities that prevailed in Nova Scotia. He pursued the same course subsequently adopted by Lord Elgin in Canada, and with a like unsuccessful result. The liberals refused to overcome their personal and political repugnances so far as to unite in council with the conservatives, preferring an appeal to the country at a general election. Their course was approved by the colonial secretary at home, who instructed the governor to take no further steps towards a reconstruction of his cabinet, till a decision should be pronounced by the people at the hustings. The sense of the country was thus taken in the summer of 1847, and the conservatives were signally defeated. Soon after the meeting of the new assembly, in January last, the governor's council resigned their offices, and the liberals formed a ministry of their own leaders, and occupied all the great places of profit and trust. Thus for the first time was responsible government practically established in the province of Nova Scotia.

The first outbreak of discontent in New Brunswick occurred in December, 1844, in consequence of the appointment, by Sir William Colebrooke, the successor of Sir John Harvey, of his son-in-law, Mr. Reade, to the office vacated by the death of the provincial secretary. A portion of the governor's council, disapproving of the appointment, not for want of ability on the part of the new incumbent, but for the sole disqualification of his being a native of Great Britain, and not a permanent resident of New Brunswick, resigned. Lord Stanley, the then colonial secretary, sanctioned the principle thus avowed, by instructing the governor to give the secretaryship to a colonist, and to recall

the members who had resigned their seats in the council. And this decision is held to have established the principle, in this particular, on which the colonial governments are to be administered. But the formal adoption of the system of responsible government in this province, was resolved on early in the present year, by a deliberate act of the assembly after a discussion of two days. The proceedings excited a very general interest, and the resolution passed by a large majority. This plan of administration, therefore, is now in operation in each of the three colonies.

From the Spectator, 1st July.

#### GERMANY.

THE condition of Germany is at present extremely anomalous. It is not easy to discover the presence of any efficient government, and still more difficult to conjecture whence such a government is to come for the future.

The simultaneous revolutionary movements in every state of any note or importance in Germany, appeared to meet with absolutely no resistance. Prince after prince succumbed to the popular will "with bated breath and whispering humbleness." The truth is, they were unable to resist; for the notoriously dilapidated state of the Austrian finances, and the more than suspected embarrassments of Prussia, are but types of the condition of the treasury department in every German government. Encouraged by this universal submission, a self-appointed committee took upon itself to assemble in Frankfort, for the purpose of convening and organizing a central legislature for Germany. None of its members possessed the authority conferred by rank, or wealth, or high political position. They belonged exclusively to a very limited portion of Germany. Yet the diet of the confederation did not even venture to murmur at their assembling in its local residence; and the princes represented in the diet hastened to nominate a committee of seventeen liberals to assist that body in the maturing of a plan for the election of a German constituent assembly in concert with the preparatory committee.

Austria and Prussia, hitherto the only two really independent governments of the confederation, made a show of asserting that independence, by convening constituent assemblies in their own states, concurrently with the convocation of the national assembly. That of Austria will, in all probability, prove a mere nullity. The Slavonic and Magyar provinces seem bent upon asserting their separate nationalities. Italy is in full revolt; and even the Italian districts of the Tyrol have refused to send deputies to the local diet of that province, at present in session. This state of affairs—so perilous to a government, each of whose provinces is peopled by a different race, speaking different languages, and ruled by different laws—has been rendered yet more perilous by the idiotic cowardice of the emperor, who, after convening a constituent assembly, fled to the Tyrol, appealing against the coercion he had experienced in Vien-

na; then promised to return to open the diet; and now falls sick and sends his uncle in his stead. In the internal affairs of Germany, the emperor of Austria possesses only the weight due to his territories included within the boundaries of the confederation; and scarcely even that, for he holds the important kingdom of Bohemia on the precarious tenure of a victory.

The constituent assembly of Prussia is unlikely to command much more influence in German affairs than the Austrian. To judge by the noisy and irregular discussions in the Prussian assembly, and its reactionary tendencies, either the influence of the highly centralized and martinet government has vitiated the elections, or all the best public characters having been elected to the Frankfort assembly, only those of inferior value were left to compose that of Berlin. The wavering feminine character of the monarch has added to the mischief. Camphausen threw up the office of prime minister, when only one place in his cabinet remained to be filled—it is all but certain, because the king refused to communicate to him the tenor and object of the correspondence he was carrying on with Russia. Such a government and such an assembly are little likely to wage a serious contest for ascendancy with the Frankfort assembly—if that also, like the Austrian and Prussian, is not a mere *nominis umbra*.

The utter imbecility of all the separate governments, the popular desire for the fusion of all Germany into one state, which has been gaining strength ever since 1813, and the felt want of an efficient government of some kind, are in favor of the Frankfort assembly. It is strong, not only in the wishes of the people, but in the good-will of the minor princes. The sovereigns of Baden, Darmstadt, Saxony, and others, see in it their only bulwark against the encroachments of Austria, or the still more dreaded Prussia. The president of the assembly was, till he accepted that office, premier of the Darmstadt ministry, and is still the most influential statesman of the duchy; and it is worthy of note, that in the debate and division on the motion that no new local constitution should be recognized, except provisionally, until the general Germanic constitution should be finally adopted—a motion obviously directed against the assumptions of the constituent assemblies at Berlin and Vienna—a majority of the Prussian delegates (in particular those from the Rhine provinces) spoke and voted in the affirmative.

The national constituent assembly, therefore, appears to possess elements of strength not discernible in the two rival constituent assemblies. It includes among its members many experienced officials, and some of the most tried and practical statesmen of Germany. The sagacity and moderation which have hitherto characterized its deliberations are also of favorable augury. Still, it has one great source of weakness in its constitution, and has one very delicate and difficult task to accomplish before it can be recognized as a real power. The source of weakness is its want of



any express warrant to impose taxes, to appoint ministers to levy and dispose of the proceeds of such taxes, or to authorize any existing constituted authority to discharge that function. The source of the authority of the English house of commons is its acknowledged power over the public purse. Any legislative body not possessing such a power, may make as many laws as it pleases, but has no guarantee that any one will respect them. The difficult task to be accomplished by the assembly, is the institution of an efficient executive government. Public opinion in Germany decidedly favors monarchy. But the existence of a monarchy presupposes power in the possession of a dynasty, to a certain extent, independent of the recognition of the elective legislature. In Germany there are too many dynasties. Had the bulk of the Austrian territories been German, or even had the Austrian government been secure in its Extra-German dominions, its power, combined with the prestige of the old imperial authority of Germany, so long vested in the house of Hapsburg, would probably have rendered its claims irresistible. In the actual disorganized and enfeebled condition of Austria, the preponderance of Prussia in Germany Proper, would probably have placed the crown of Germany on the head of Frederick William; but the irresolute and suspicious conduct of the Prussian government has rendered that impossible. As yet, the national constituent assembly has confined itself to discussions on the nature of the interim central government to be adopted until a constitution be framed. There can be no doubt, however, that the interim executive will foreshadow the form and lineaments of that which is to be permanently established.

On this question there are three parties in the assembly. One insists that the central authority shall owe its elevation to the popular choice alone. A second insists that the nomination of the central authority shall be left to the governments. A third, respectable for the moderation and talents of the members who compose it, take a middle course, and propose that the central authority shall be appointed by the governments in conjunction with a committee of the assembly nominated for that purpose. The report of the committee, to whom the various projects were remitted to put them in a proper shape for discussion, is in the sense of this third party. They have recommended a triumvirate, acting through the instrumentality of a ministry responsible to the national assembly. This triumvirate to be nominated by the sovereigns, with the concurrence of a specially delegated committee of the assembly; Austria to nominate one triumvir, Prussia another, and the remaining sovereign states of the confederation to elect the third out of a list of three to be presented by Bavaria. The second of these plans has been rejected by a large majority. The preamble of the commission's report, which declares simply that "a provisional central authority shall be nominated to transact the common affairs of the whole German nation," and specifies what

the common affairs are, has been adopted. The decision of the assembly as to the composition and the manner of appointing this provisional government is yet unknown. The debate, though stormy at the outset, evinced towards the close a sincere desire, on the part of all sections of the assembly, to concede all points not involving any vital principle.

Until a central executive be appointed, and the authority to impose taxes and control the application and expenditure of the revenue thence arising be recognized as existing in the assembly, there can be no efficient general constitutional government in Germany. It is very creditable to the German people that, notwithstanding the entire prostration of the local governments, and the want of any central government to supply their place, order has, on the whole, been preserved throughout the country, and the regular administration of law by the tribunals been allowed to proceed without interruption. This temper of the public mind, and the obvious interest of the secondary states, which occupy the centre of Germany, to seek shelter under a recognized central government from the usurpations of Prussia and Austria, or from the worse alternative of anarchy, afford grounds to hope that the difficult problem of a general constitutional government for Germany will, before long, receive a satisfactory solution.

#### DANCING ON A VOLCANO.

As wasps fly back to the nest that has been blown up, unconscious of the danger, so human beings have rebuilt a Catania or a Lima, and so the curious Parisians pour forth into their streets after the carnage, to see what is to be seen. Paris has exhibited the most startling contact of calamity, gayety, and idle curiosity. On Monday night, the city was illuminated—not for joy, but for fear; the lights of rejoicing being converted to beacons of safety in the horrible watch of that last night of massacre. At the very climax of woe, a felicitous turn of expression would move the critical assembly—ever so quick to catch an antithesis, and to act upon it, even amid the roar of cannon and the dripping of blood. No sooner is the hideous battle over, than Paris becomes a "set scene," and the mourning citizens become sight-seers, issuing forth to view the spectacle as to a panorama. Amid the debris of civil war, "the centre of the carriage road is crowded with curious spectators, promenading as they would on the occasion of some public celebration." It is to be hoped that they would profit by the moral of the scene—that they could read the sermons in stones piled by barricade makers, and displaced by cannon.

A sight not altogether dissimilar might be seen the other day near Manchester. An encampment of soldiery has been formed on Kersal Moor, and that field for Chartist demonstrations has become the theatre for a demonstration of organized military force. On Sunday last, the spectacle attracted crowds like those at a great fair. It conveyed its

moral. A chartist preacher delivered an extempore sermon on the unchristian nature of war; and a secular chartist orator applied the discourse by pointing out to his hearers that justice is cheaper than injustice; that pikes and deadly weapons are less effective than the fraternal doctrine of doing as you would be done by, and so on. Very natural ideas to be suggested at the mere sight of such a force as would frustrate proselytism by pike. Similar reflections may have occurred to the reflective Parisians on surveying the blood-stained and dismantled walls of once peaceful abodes, sacrificed to a vain and criminal attempt. But how great an advantage did the Manchester men enjoy in the opportunity to make these reflections *before* civil war, instead of after it!—*Spectator*, 1st July.

From the *Spectator*, 1 July.

THE great thunder-cloud of war which had been hanging so long over Paris burst at last: the storm is over, for the time; and Paris, shattered, bloodstained, disgraced—its government swept away in the hurricane—reawakens to some hope of safety under the shield of a military dictator. Never has so great a war been compressed into so small a compass both of space and time: few military engagements can vie with the slaughter that Paris, self-decimated, has achieved within its own walls, and within four days.

The history of the contest is as yet but imperfectly known. Some facts, indeed, are plain enough. The struggle was of a double nature—that of a servile and that of a civil war. The provisional government, of which M. Louis Blanc was unluckily a member, undertook a huge experiment in communism, not only without social machinery for the purpose, but without even the slightest provision for fitting the new to the old system of industry: even had the soundness of M. Blanc's doctrines been demonstrated—which it never was, an experiment thus instituted must have been disastrous: Louis Blanc failed to establish a system of industry, but he did establish a gigantic system of paid idleness. A vast band of workmen, some hundred thousand strong, soon learned to receive daily wages for doing nothing; some twenty or thirty thousand convicts joined the easy trade; and a bankrupt exchequer was burdened with the hugest army of able-bodied paupers since corn was distributed to the degenerate people of Rome. The nuisance was intolerable, and its suppression was demanded daily; but the executive government feared to grapple with the achievement. The paid idlers, however, with their allies the communists and the convicts, knew that the "ateliers nationaux" continued to exist only so long as the government lacked courage to demolish them; preliminary attempts at removal were made, and the men revolted in defence of their vested rights to paid idleness: the main body of the rebel army, no doubt, consisted of the men belonging to the ateliers nationaux. But they had allies from divers sections of the population—

the criminal population, a very numerous body, naturally bound to the convict interest; the theoretical communists; some part of the working classes, inclined to disorder for its own sake; the starving, who thought that any change must be for the better; besides, probably, other speculators in tumult among the less scrupulous politicians of Paris. The leaders of the revolt are not yet named: the military skill and the comprehensive plan suggest the idea that practised officers were among the rebels. Possibly some military genius may have been called forth by the opportunity—some degraded and inglorious Napoleon, emerging from among the many soldiers that mingle with every class of Paris, may have run his wild career in the four days. But there are rumors of distinguished traitors, whose names remain to be divulged. It is certain that some of the insurgents possessed considerable sums of money—how obtained is part of the mystery.

The character of the warfare was such as might be anticipated, from the noted malignity of civil contest, and from the strong infusion of criminal passions: the cruelties perpetrated on prisoners taken by the insurgents almost rival those ascribed to the old buccaneers and to the Greek brigands of our own time. Among the most regretted victims was the pious and zealous Archbishop of Paris, who went forth to speak words of peace, and fell in that noble mission.

The precise aim of the revolt, if it had one, is not yet known. To beat off the suppression of the national workshops was the proximate purpose; possibly also to set up a government that would not suppress the workshops was an ulterior aim; and there can be little doubt that ultra republicans, legitimists, and imperialists, were among the fighters, speculating on opportunities. The results of the visitation are more obvious: they are—first, a vast slaughter, a carnage exceeding that of St. Bartholomew, and only less wanton than that hideous visitation of royal fanaticism; secondly, the summary cutting of that gordian knot, the question of the ateliers nationaux; thirdly, a reaction which has rather violently restored some power to the executive government.

The feebleness and inertness of the executive committee had become so astounding as to suggest suspicions of treachery, which are not altogether allayed. A story to explain the unaccountable supineness of M. de Lamartine is, that at the outset the great republican orator made a compact with M. Ledru-Rollin, of mutual support; and that he felt bound to observe the compact, even after his ally proved to be on the losing side and he saw his own popularity disappearing. From whatsoever motives of conscious feebleness, in the midst of the turmoil the executive committee transferred its powers into the hands of General Cavaignac; who for five days ruled Paris as a military dictator, put down the rebellion, and resigned his extraordinary powers; a promptitude of civic virtue singularly consistent with his recent denunciation of attempts against the republican

form of government. Cavaignac was at once re-appointed "president of the council," with power to form his own ministry; in other words, he is created president of the republic ad interim. He constructs his ministry in great part from old official materials; and France once more possesses the semblance of a government.

It was high time. The recent history of Paris has cast discredit on a popular dogma, that liberty is to be attained by some mode of "curbing the power of the state;" in France, the state, even before February, was not too powerful, but too feeble; it was the feebleness of the last government which handed over Paris to anarchy; buccaneering bands, rebels inspired by the genius of Norfolk Island, incapable of developing any governing powers of their own, put liberty to the torture and condemned Paris to the "state of siege;" the vigorous will of one man, aided by the sword and the coöperation of the public at large, has raised up a new power under protection of which a faint hope dawns that liberty may revive.

From the Examiner, 1st July.

#### CAVAIGNAC AND THE ASSEMBLY.

THE French have a wonderful faculty for undoing. The energies of the national mind and will are always ready to be exerted for destruction, even though it be for their own. Englishmen have precisely contrary tendencies. Throw some thousands of them upon a barren coast, and they will forthwith organize, almost spontaneously, a social and political system. Set several thousand French, not on a barren coast, but in the midst of a developed political society, and they will fall to pick it to pieces forthwith.

It is impossible to reflect upon the circumstance of any Parisian insurrection, without supposing some man of very great talent and influence at its head. Yet, on inquiry, no such chief has ever been found to exist. It is the genius of the people for desperation that supplies the place of any chief. Each does what is best, without order. And if insurrection at times does not succeed with them, it must be that the insurgents, in that case, are most decidedly in the wrong.

Great fears are entertained of the conquerors in the late revolt making a right use of their victory in founding an equitable and workable system of government. We think that we are justified in entertaining more favorable expectations. We believe the national guard to be now generally animated by the best views and intentions. They have the great advantage of knowing that the general under whom the victory was achieved, is a staunch republican, a man in the interest of no prince, and no ousted party. They are, therefore, prepared to second the assembly sincerely in what may be considered a last effort to form a republican government; and the failure, if anything so disastrous is to be contemplated, will rest altogether with the national assembly.

It is quite evident that the chief, the only seri-

ous antagonist to the establishment of a republic in France, has hitherto been the republic itself. If it can govern, can exist, can give proper guarantees to society, to commerce, to trade, and the national interests, people will have the republic. It has, however, done none of this yet. Monarchic hopes are founded on that failure. But the republic has no more to do than to work, to govern, and show itself an efficient, regular, feasible power, in order to silence antagonism. Should it fail, however—should the national assembly not succeed in establishing some form of government, which could give peace, order, security, the release to another trial of monarchy is inevitable. Yet the monarchy of the upper classes failed with the elder Bourbon; the monarchy of the middle classes with the younger branch; and the monarchy of the popular classes is Bonapartist. It is, however, a monarchy in the mere name; without the coöperation, except as blind instruments, of any of the constitutional guards. A peaceable and constitutional Bonaparte would be the reverse of popular.

The national assembly will, however, now display its character, and develop the talents of its members, if they have any. Hitherto it has acted under duress or intimidation. The popular spectre, daily exorcised, still overhung and frightened them. This has been dispelled by the cannon of Cavaignac, and each member and party may now at least obey its natural impulse, without being forced to obey Messrs. Flocon and Ledru-Rollin, or to put compulsory trust in Lamartine. No doubt there are still great dangers. As long as the popular hordes still menace, and they do menace, even though crammed into the cellars of palaces and the courts of prisons, Cavaignac will be indispensable; but the fear of the populace having vanished, it is to be apprehended that each coterie of the assembly will return to its prejudices and its predilections. The Guizotists will not support Cavaignac, who has just arrested M. de Girardin somewhat unwarrantably, and crushed his journal. The old *centre gauche* does not confide in the republican soldier. The thorough democrats will be long in forgiving the ruthless repression; and honest and bold Cavaignac, the dictator of June, may become the ostracized of July. His true friends, if personal rivalry does not exist, will be no doubt amongst the moderate *républicains de la veille*, the Marrast, the Bastides, the Carnots. But what gave this party power, was the existence beyond theirs of a fierce democratic and popular party; and this party crushed and buried under the barricades, those who conquered them may possibly come to care little for the moderates of a crushed opinion. No doubt, therefore, there exists some ground for the fear that moderate republicanism may decline, and Cavaignac himself with it. But we have strong hopes the other way, based upon the power which the national guard have acquired by their victory, and the gallant sacrifices they have so nobly made for the preservation of government and order.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

Paris, 8 July, 1848.

A WEEK or two ago, we were told of a fleet of thirty American vessels of war in the Sound; we now read of a deputation of merchants to M. Hansemann, one of the ministers at Berlin, who asked him whether an American fleet had not arrived or was to arrive, for the purpose of *protecting Germany*. He answered that the Prussian government was taking steps "to conclude a treaty of alliance and friendship with the United States." A biographer of Chateaubriand says, in one of the journals of this morning, that the illustrious defunct became enamored of republicanism when he saw Washington at Mount Vernon, and found him with but one servant—a woman. In the discussion in the house of representatives at Washington, of Mr. C. Ingersoll's project to reduce the tariff on French wines and silks, Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, observed—"This measure will so encourage the government of the French republic, and confirm their good feeling towards us, that, after its organization, among the first acts of the new government will be one to remit the duties now imposed by France on American tobacco, cotton, and provisions." The new government has not yet intimated remission, and a motion made in the national assembly for the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the propriety of abolishing or modifying the tobacco monopoly, *was not even seconded*. It has never been so difficult to obtain from any branch of the government, attention to American business, as since the revolution of February.

Victor Considerant, a representative of the people in the national assembly, and a luminary of socialism, has published an address to France, in reference to the recent insurrection. A number of other representatives have announced in the newspapers that they subscribe to it. Allow me to quote some of the concluding sentences as a sample of the style of the epoch. "Let all good intentions form an irresistible aggregate of good resolves. Let all intelligences gather light, all hearts draw near to each other, all hands be stretched to clasp each other, and to labor conjointly for the weal of our common country! Let hope descend upon us! France is still the great initiating and martyr nation. After the crucifixion comes the glorious resurrection. The blood poured from her sides will redeem all human kind. Yes, France is the elect of God! God has made France the modern Christ of the nations. May God save France, and France will save the human race!" Another address ends:—"Poor France! when will your expiation end? But you have before you inexhaustible eternity. All providential work is accomplished in France. When France shall be once set to rights, she will establish order everywhere." The world has a dismal chance with that alternative.

Pierre Leroux, the philosopher, delivered last week to the assembly a speech of which I translate for you the following passage:—"Who are

the customers of the manufacturers of Lyons? America, England, Germany, and in part France. America and England are the most considerable. What has happened? The United States, every time they have obtained considerable supplies from Lyons, have proved bankrupt. Many times has Lyons suddenly lost by America fifty millions of francs: thus, the manufacturers of Lyons have no confidence in American custom." But a Lyons article which we read yesterday mentions the prospect of American custom as the main hope of the manufacturers. I have just been told by an active and intelligent American merchant, on a visit for the purchase of French goods, that nothing is to be done by speculators, the prices being higher than they were before the revolution of February, owing to the intermission of production and the uncertainty of future supply. Great bargains were made in March and April. Libraries have been bought "for a song." Books generally had not been so cheap for half a century as in April and May. If the library committees of congress and the Smithsonian board of directors could have consented to profit by the necessities of republican Paris, they might have enriched Washington with large collections. Two thirds of a page of the *Journal des Débats* of the 7th are occupied with speeches (in committee-rooms) of M. Thiers, M. de Tocqueville, and M. de Cormenin, on the vital question of a *senate* for France. Thiers argued earnestly and ably in the affirmative. He dwelt particularly on the example and experience of the United States. "See," he said, "what inestimable services have been rendered by the senate at Washington! how much evil it has prevented, how much prudence it has displayed, what a reputation for wisdom it has acquired! I have the honor of reckoning among my friends several eminent citizens of the United States. All who are now in Europe have urged me to proclaim their opinion that two legislative bodies are all important for France. It is their natural zeal for the success of your experiment of a republic that prompts them to this recommendation." M. de Tocqueville, in supporting M. Thiers, referred also to the success of the American system. "You condemn," he observed, "a senate as necessarily aristocratic. But if there is a country in the world exempt from aristocracy, it is North America. That institution has never existed there. Ideas, laws, spirit, heart, manners, and usages—all are democratic. Nevertheless, all the thirty republics have established, each, two legislative bodies. Is one aristocratic; the other, democratic? not in the least. In most of the states, the two assemblies differ only as to numbers; they are elected in the same way, composed of the same materials, and appointed for the same time." M. de Tocqueville errs in this last particular, but you cannot prevail on any French politician to examine thoroughly any foreign institutions or texts. M. de Cormenin is the most influential stickler for a single legislative body in France. He held this language:—"The people

of France have a true instinct. They do not at all favor the idea of a senate. It is only a national assembly, one and indivisible, like France herself, in which they will have any confidence or find any *prestige*. You are eternally holding out to us the example of the United States of America; but they were English colonies, and mechanically adopted the customs and forms of the mother country. America is essentially federative, while we are essentially unitarian. To distinguish the senate from the house of representatives, it was necessary to impart to the American senate executive functions which we, in France, would not tolerate. Let us have none of the two-fold play, of the constitutional fictions, of the see-saws that may amuse the old age of a discredited state of society; they do not belong to the truer and freer march of a nascent republic. I may confidently predict, without pretending to be a great prophet, that our present national assembly will reject, as the committee on the constitution have done, with all my reasons, and others better still, and by a great majority, the proposition of *two chambers*." You see that the correspondent of Monsieur Vattemare is admirably versed in American political history and institutions. I fear that his predictions touching the decision of the assembly will be verified. However, the constitution itself seems to be of secondary importance. The impression extends on every side, that a military government can alone answer, for a considerable period. Throughout France, the laboring classes, rural and urban, are disposed, not to take the *law* into their own hands, but to defy and trample on all law, and usurp the property and rights of all others. An aged republican, the survivor of the ten constitutions in all of which he had a share, remarked to me on Thursday—"We are under the sway of the army of Africa, and I am entirely content." In one of the committees, a member suggested that a senate should be chosen by the general councils of the provinces, who are to be elected by universal suffrage, and who may be easily assimilated to our state governments. This is the just conception. He was answered by Pascal Duprat, that universal suffrage had killed all aristocracy, and therefore a senate was impossible. *Non sequitur*, yet the prevailing notion. Paul Leroux means to contend that the scheme of universal suffrage cannot be genuine and complete unless each voter (of the nine or ten millions) votes for all the members of the assembly: a universal ticket! An intelligent election!

Among the recent transactions of the assembly, there are two in regard to men, which have a peculiar and important import. When the chair was vacated by Senard, the candidates were *Marie* and *Dufaure*. The former, a lawyer of some renown, was of the old *clique* of the *National*, and a member of the provisional government and executive commission; but he proved quite moderate and conservative, and the most efficient advocate of the law against popular gatherings—*attroupements*. *Dufaure* was a principal personage of the left

centre in the chamber of deputies—indeed, the head of a little dynastic party of his own; his talents and experience are universally esteemed. *Marie* obtained a majority, 414 votes; *Dufaure*, 297. The *National* sounded this result as signifying the profoundly republican sentiments of the assembly. But the assembly meant no more than to reward *Marie* for his exertions in the cause of order, and contradistinguish him from his old colleagues. Besides, they were not prepared to place at their head a prominent ex-dynastic deputy. The other case is that of *Carnot*, reappointed minister of public instruction by General Cavaignac. His circulars to the thirty-six thousand teachers of the primary schools, in which he appealed to ignorance and indigence against education and property, gave inexpressible offence to all the sound and honest minds of the country; and, along with the anarchical and predatory catechisms issued under his auspices, might have perpetrated wholesale mischief. I have heretofore mentioned the murmurs and remonstrances that burst from the assembly at the announcement of his renomination. On the 5th instant, his plan of rudimental *gratuitous* education was submitted, as follows:—

The draught of the decree enacts that a primary school shall be established in every commune in France containing more than three hundred inhabitants. Those communes which contain less than three hundred inhabitants are to unite with one or more of the neighboring districts in order to form a school. The course of education is to comprise reading, writing, the elements of the French language, arithmetic, natural history, the principles of agriculture and of manufactures, drawing, singing, French history, geography, a knowledge of the rights and duties of a man and of a citizen, the elementary precepts of medicine, and exercises calculated to improve the physical development of the pupils. The decree confers on the ministers of the different religious creeds the right to instruct their several flocks in their religious duties. The decree renders it obligatory on parents to send their children to school. The cost of those schools to the nation at large is estimated at 47,420,350*f*.

In the committees the cost was estimated at from fifty to seventy millions of francs. Nevertheless, the assembly were willing to accept the plan; and still more willing to rid the country of the minister. This end was cleverly compassed. A smart lawyer, Bonjean, moved, as an amendment to the bill demanding a million of francs for the improvement of the condition of the primary teachers—a subtraction from that amount of five thousand francs, not to deprive the teachers of a penny, but to let the minister know undeniably that he was obnoxious to the assembly. He quoted passages, teaching exceedingly bad doctrines, from a catechism entitled *Manual of the Man and the Citizen*, of which some 15 or 20,000 copies were distributed under the directions of Carnot, and paid for out of the university fund. The amendment was carried, and the minister resigned the same evening. He attempted in the tribune a defence of his whole career. "I sprang," he exclaimed,

"from the barricades." (Murmurs—loud reproof from the floor—voices from the Mountain—"Stick to your text; keep to the barricades.") He continued, "I repeat that the barricades lifted me to my post; and this is the reason why I am persecuted." An uproar ensued; the radical editors exalt him as a martyr.

The two principal clubs—*réunions*—formed out of the assembly, are called of the *Rue de Poitiers* and the *Palais Royal*, where respectively they hold their sittings. The former consists of the old deputies and a considerable force recruited from the new legislators, desirous of a sound, vigorous republic; it is the largest and ablest. The other is made up of the party of the *National* and a number of half-radicals. These *réunions* interfered, originally, in the choice of Carnot; the de Poitiers most respectfully expostulated with President Cavaignac; the Palais Royal insisted that their *confrère* and *protégé*, the son of the old republican, the immortal Carnot, should not be set aside at any bidding. President Cavaignac was himself a scion or ally of the *National*; he cannot dispense, as yet, with the countenance or subserviency of his old connections. He yielded, and when the assembly eliminated the man of the *Palais Royal*, he again yielded, and chose as the successor, Vaulabelle, who presided over the meeting at which it was resolved to push Carnot. The new minister of public instruction is the author of the history of the Two (Bourbon) Restorations, in four octavos—a work of high reputation. The legitimists detest it and the author, because it has damaged their cause. He has studied much and written well; he ought to understand the intellectual idiosyncracies and wants of his country; it is a task to prepare the rising generation for a due comprehension and proper use of liberty. The *National* vouches that he will tread in the footsteps and follow out the plans of Carnot—perhaps, with some modifications. We may anticipate an early exclusion from the executive government of the whole junto of the *National*, whose rapacious, proscriptive, incompetent domination has disgusted and incensed the majority of the assembly. In the recent election of presidents of the fifteen committees, only one of them could be carried. Of the prefects and sub-prefects of the departments, whom they appointed, three fourths had no character at all, and some six or seven were old *convicts*. Their diplomatic corps is raw, and without promise in other respects. Their mayor of Paris—ex-editor Marrast—loses ground daily, and will disappear when the municipal councils shall be re-installed, according to a design nearly matured. The city exchequer has been nearly beggared. It is proved, in an able article of *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, of the 1st, that the provisional government assigned to itself, on the *exercice* or fiscal year 1848, extraordinary credits, or appropriations, to an amount beyond two hundred and six millions of francs, in the space of *sixty-nine days*. The authentic list of their decrees of appropriations is quite a curiosity. All this, besides a multitude of

measures creating indeterminate expenditure, and the promised indemnity to the colonists for the abolition of slavery. The public revenue was completely disorganized, and no branch of the civil administration escaped abuses as gross as any of the monarchical eras.

This capital was all alive and abroad on the 5th, Thursday, for the funeral honors of the martyrs of the four days, and on the 6th, for the obsequies of the archbishop. You have the details, or at least enough, in the enclosed printed accounts. This day, (7th,) the remains of Chateaubriand are deposited in a church, to be soon transported to his birth-place, St. Malo, where he caused his own tomb to be erected. The concourse for the ceremonial seems large and brilliant. Thus we can never be called out too often by grand dramatic representations in the streets. For the three weeks past, the work *sub Jove*—whether commotion and battle, or celebration and mourning rites—has superseded all business in times when more attention and time are inexorably due, than within fifty years. Strictly, neither the dealer, the manufacturer, the workman, the state, can spare a day. Conformably to the official programme, the enormous sarcophagus, of the 5th, was to be conducted by the entire procession as far as the site of the Bastille. But, on the 4th, it was resolved to consign the bodies which it contained to the vaults of the Madeleine, quite near to the *Place de la Concorde*, the scene of the assemblage and the religious solemnities. A report and a belief prevailed that the change arose from the discovery of a plot to destroy President Cavaignac and his staff, by an infernal machine, near the Porte St. Denis. An immense crowd, ignorant of the countermand, lined the whole route of miles, and the vast funereal trappings of the *façades* of the theatres and the column of July were their only compensation. The spectacle of the thronged terraces of the Tuileries, and the windows of all the adjacent edifices, public and private, on both sides of the river, and, chiefly, the *Place*, with its gigantic altar and thirty thousand troops, glittering under the effulgent sun, could not possibly be more magnificent. All was over before three o'clock. At the funeral of the archbishop, six bishops, eighty-six canons, and nine hundred and seventy priests, *defiled* under the dome of the cathedral, Notre Dame. All the Protestant or dissenting clergy of the capital would have attended but for a mistake in the arrangements. The pilgrims to the residence of the prelate, before the removal of the body, are supposed to have been a hundred and fifty thousand. In the funeral procession, the proportion of workmen, females, and soldiery, was astonishing, and their countenances and lamentations had a most pathetic effect. Notre Dame was filled from nine in the morning until six in the evening. The Union (newspaper) of this day, says: "Assuredly, there must be two nations or races in the very French of Paris; one for war, the other for peace—one for anarchy, the other for order; we have a city of convulsion, and of quiet;



a city of crime and virtue—of heaven and hell. The same men and youth erect barricades and demolish them—commit slaughter by fits on the side of anarchy or of law; they attack, to-day, the same interests and classes that they defend, with equal impetus, to-morrow." So it is; and so nothing is secure for a month.

The *Constitutionnel* supposes the number of prisoners, by capture or arrest, to be from ten to twelve thousand. *La Patrie* informs us that, at the prefecture of police, five clerks are employed, night and day, in filling up blanks in the printed forms for arrests. It is affirmed, in a pamphlet prepared with research and care, that twenty thousand, at least, were killed or wounded. The title of the pamphlet is, "Eighty Hours of Civil War." Many of the combatants were thrown, dead or alive, into the river Seine. A gentleman, who is a captain in the national guards of St. Germain, and served in Paris on the 25th and 26th ult., at the Hotel de Ville, and improved his opportunities afterwards to collect information, expressed to me his persuasion of a mortality in six days of at least twenty-five thousand. He believes that the garde mobile lost about six thousand. As a surgeon's mate, many years ago, in the West Indies, he witnessed the condition of the African negroes in the holds of the slave-ships. It was not worse than that of the prisoners, (whom he was commissioned to visit,) in the vaults of the Hotel de Ville, from which the waters of the late inundation of the river had not been drained. They prayed to be shot at once, in order to be relieved from the stench of the slough, in which they stood nearly to their knees, and from their own squalid pressure. Hundreds of the captives, there and elsewhere, were raving mad. Eminent surgeons testify, in the journals, that the distemperature was produced as much by the noxious compounds of tobacco-juice, and other adulterations which they drank, as by moral causes, and the character of the struggle. The same professional men detected arsenic in bottles of liquor, carried by women to be sold to the guards and the line. The multitudes of sudden deaths they ascribe to poison, and over-excitement of the nerves and brain. Many instances of insanity were found among respectable females of the faubourgs, whose constant cry was, "Help, help!—Oh, do not kill us!" Fear of the insurgents is still so predominant in the quarters of the barricades, and all the environs of the capital, that an editor, this morning, fills a long article, headed, "The Terror of 1848," with a description of the general panic, and the consequent arbitrary seizure of old men and young females, entirely inoffensive, and of the hue and cry with which every individual, not favorably known, or of equivocal appearance, is pursued through the fields and villages. Upwards of a hundred thousand muskets have returned to the artillery depot by explorations of houses, and the disarming of three delinquent legions of guards and several small townships. The new corps of *guardians of Paris* was found principally on the side of the in-

surrection, and there is no more discouraging circumstance than the hourly reports of the arrests of persons in respectable spheres of life—professors, artists, literati, mayors, officers of the guards—whose participation in the conspiracy and rising is not doubted. On the 5th, a deputation of *ladies* endeavored, in vain, to reach General Cavaignac, on the Place de la Concorde, with a petition for amnesty to all the prisoners.

No sitting of the assembly within the week is of more significance than that of the 7th inst. I enclose for you an abstract of a part of the proceedings, which will enable your readers to judge of our general situation and prospects. It is not an army of Paris of 40,000, but of 50,000, which the war committee unanimously recommended, and President Cavaignac has adopted with the eager assent of the assembly. Moreover, martial law is to be indefinitely continued in the capital; the suppression of the incendiary journals maintained; and the large pecuniary deposit (*cautionnement*) exacted, especially from the provincial press, in which Jacobinism has sought a vehicle for its ravings. Cavaignac proclaimed, in his compendious and downright style, that the state and public peace were still in circumstances extremely critical, and that the government must have means of *defence* against the hostilities of the press as well as those of traitors and mobs. Even the *National* acquiesces in all this, (knowing it to be the voice of the nation,) and relies upon Cavaignac's "patriotism and love of liberty." The same paper describes him as a man "born to command." A law of restraint on the press is in preparation. *La Reforme*, the organ of *Flocon* and two other shelved ministers, asks, "Where is the *republic*?" and whether if, four months after the revolution of February, such measures were necessary, "all material and all moral subjection and bondage became a law of public safety," Louis Philippe and M. Guizot can be any longer blamed for their repressive and defensive policy, their fortifications, garrison, and fiscal and judicial war on the freedom of speech, the pen, and convocation! The assembly have appropriated five millions subsidy to a builders' society, who promise to employ thirty thousand workmen; two millions towards the expenses of the one hundred thousand provincial guards—auxiliaries in the capital—some from distances of a hundred and a hundred and fifty leagues; half a million to aid the directors of the theatres, now serving as hospitals—*ambulances*: three millions for the relief of the sufferers of the good party by the recent insurrection; the same sum to encourage associations between workmen, and between operatives and masters. In eighteen years, Paris has experienced six sanguinary street insurrections.

At Naples, according to official returns, on the 15th May last, thirteen hundred and sixty were killed, and twelve hundred and seven wounded, and carried to the hospitals. At the latest date, an outbreak of the populace was expected at Berlin. Popular disturbances have occurred at Frank-

fort and Cassel. Cabrero has raised again the Carlist standard in Spain. The Austrians have reconquered a formidable line of operations in Italy.

Paris, 12th July, 1848.

On Monday, 10th instant, in buying some journals in the Palais Royal, I remarked near the stand one of the *marine guard*, about sixteen years of age, with a fine ingenuous countenance, and in full uniform, sprucely adjusted, and worn with evident self-complacency. "Have you ever been at sea?" said I to him. "No, sir," he answered, setting his round hat more aside. "Are there many of your corps in the Palais Royal, who have seen the sea?" "*Pas mal*," he replied; which means a tolerable number. "How many are you?" "A battalion of eight hundred." "Chiefly young?" "Few more than nineteen or twenty." "Are you nearly all of Paris?" "*On nous a ramassés sur le pavé*"—we were picked up on the pavements. So much the better, indeed, for it was a rescue from the worst possible school. President Cavaignac has successfully proposed to the assembly a decree for the admission of youth of seventeen into the army. The minister of the interior explained that this measure appertained to the dissolution of the *national ateliers*, of which the younger part must be instantly withdrawn from anarchical influences. The government would give them "the refuge of the national banner and the bread of honor," no suitable civic work being found for them. General Baraguay d'Hilliers—no mean authority—urged specious reasons against enlistment at that early age; the human frame was not then matured for military hardships, nor the reason, for the seductions of military life; mortality and vice would be the consequences. He adduced his ample personal observations. But it was replied that there was no alternative; not Paris alone, all the cities, were troubled with multitudes of vagabond youth, for whom the discipline and habits of the army were the least injurious. The great mortality in the *garde mobile*, cited by the general, was owing to their high pay; *fourteen sous* clear in their pockets prompted them to excesses; the soldiers' pocket-money, a few halfpence, was insufficient for dissoluteness. The minister of the interior added, "Unfortunately, the task of reclaiming the people of the ateliers to regular industry and social order, is far from being finished."

This persuasion of the government is further evidenced by the indefinite prolongation of martial law; the establishment of the several "camps of Paris;" the suppression of fourteen journals, and the fresh demand of half a million francs, secret police money, with the acknowledgment that more will soon be required. Companies of *republican volunteers* are now being organized in the provinces, independently of the *mobilization* of an immense national guard. The unlimited multiplication of military corps in France, renders the national destinies and drift more uncertain. It is so over all Europe. Italy must be one camp. We have from Frankfort (4th July) this account:—

A report of the committee on military matters was handed round to-day, in which the number of soldiers now actually under arms is stated to be 510,000. The committee advert to the insufficiency of this number, and move that the armed forces of Germany shall at once be increased by 140,000 men, and that a force of 340,000 shall be kept ready for service, partly at four, partly at twelve weeks' notice. Thus the German army would muster 900,000 men.

During the insurrection of last month, in this capital, two millions of cartridges were distributed to the guards and the line, and used; and the number of cannon shots is estimated at three thousand. A few days ago, at St. Quentin, two thousand fugitive insurgents, with arms, were captured in a body.

In a letter from Paris, inserted in a New York paper, it is affirmed that the *garde mobile*, or the *gamin* guard, could not be deemed a reliable force, being of the working classes, and having so recently acted themselves the part of rioters. They could not, the writer supposed, resist a fraternizing cry from the barricades. This misgiving has been entirely refuted. The *gamins*, with their trim uniform, sword and musket, comfortable rations, and the fourteen extra sous in their pockets; and, above all, their consequence as the most favored and flattered corps of protectors of the city and assembly, proved the foremost and keenest adversaries of the insurgents; in the end they were the special objects of the vengeance of the latter. General Lamoricière was often obliged to cry to the troops of the line, "Keep those boys back; they will all be killed." Their loss was the heaviest; their wounds are the most severe. A committee of the assembly has just reported to that body that they had visited hospitals containing fifteen hundred, where the poor fellows were tenderly nursed by the sisters of charity. The patients were proud of their exploits and sufferings, and (say the committee) "confident in the republic." Poor fellows! little know they what it means. Before the affray, as they shouted *Vive la République Démocratique*, a lieutenant of the Polytechnic school added, as a joke, *synthetic and analytic*, which they attempted to repeat in good earnest.

Hitherto, the proportion of deaths among the wounded is about an eighth, chiefly in the *garde mobile*. An eminent surgeon has published a curious account, in nearly two columns of a newspaper, of the peculiarity and variety in the characters of the wounds received by the several descriptions of the military defenders. It exhibits a demoniacal ferocity and ingenuity, on the side of the insurgents, in the choice and preparation of contents for their guns, and of their diversified missiles. The accidents of the balls are extraordinary. From the barricades, and the windows of the adjacent houses, the young guards had to undergo the particular aim of the savage fire. Within a week after the end of the conflict, two hundred and fifty of them disappeared; it is presumed that the missing have fallen victims, by assassination and ambush, of the revenge of the barricaders. The detached forts

around Paris contain several thousand prisoners, over whom the "boys," chiefly, keep the closest watch, with the full confidence of the government.

Some French author informs us that there are two kinds of *nature*; human nature and French nature. Within the four months past, this remark has frequently been recollected. On Monday morning last, at half past eight o'clock, I found half a regiment of the line bivouacked in the garden of the Tuileries, on the side of the Rue de Rivoli. Their breakfast, bread and porridge, was spread on long tables by the tents. Some sixty, eighty, or a hundred hungry *blouses*, who were not permitted to enter the garden, stood along the pavement, communicating through the *grilles* (grating) with the soldiers, or, I should say, sharing the breakfast from the hands of these true *liberals*. It happened to me on the same day to be on the boulevards, when the national guards, eight hundred men, chiefly artillery, from the city of Bézançon, a hundred leagues, marched down on their way to the palace of the national assembly. No troops could appear or move in better order, or with more personal satisfaction. Their equipment and bearing attracted the admiration and applause of connoisseurs, and earned them a post and charge of honor. Many thousands of the provincial guards, from the distant places, when informed on their way of the victory of the government, preferred to come hither, glad to show themselves, and gratify their curiosity in the capital. French nature, undeniably, requires uniforms of every contrast and color and richness of ornament, and martial music and parade. By no possibility, or mob-interdict, could the Parisians have long dispensed with the glittering cavalry, symmetric infantry, and heart-stirring orchestras of the "army of Paris, of at least fifty thousand men," which the assembly voted yesterday afternoon by acclamation. "The *piston*," observes Lamartine's journal, "did the work; the *mountain* alone protested." As much influence may be ascribed to the prevailing idea within and without, that Paris must be rendered safe from insurrection.

In their sitting of yesterday, the assembly entertained what they will certainly pass, bills for the appropriation of half a million of francs in aid of the theatres of the capital; of two hundred and seventy thousand for the grand opera apart; and of two hundred and fifty thousand as alms to destitute artists and men of letters. The ex-minister of the treasury, Duclerc, mentioned that not a few of these had been reduced to the necessity of joining the national *ateliers*. We have a "lengthy" petition from the Republican Society of Literati, on the condition of the press, in which they say "The publication of books being at an end, the journals have become the only resource of the writers, printers, and all branches of industry appertaining to the preparation and distribution of printed writings." A few days ago, I was told by the clerks of my purveyor, *Dentu*, in the Palais Royal, that they had not sold a *book* for six weeks: pamphlets and single sheets alone. There

is a public benefit, however, in the stoppage of the parturition of the Dumas', Sues, Balsacs, and *id genus omne* of systematic corrupters of taste and morals. The late government seemed to encourage a general vitiation, studiously, by distinguishing, and patronizing in every way, authors popular, at least as much by dint of fertile and gross licentiousness, as by talents or any personal merits. But as "ill luck would have it," thousands of the second and third rate penwrights—the *feuilletonists* of every sort of production—the half-witted theorists in politics and ethics—all the Grub street species—being deprived by the revolution of their old occupations and favor, betook themselves, for sheer subsistence, to farthing journals, single sheets, placards, small pamphlets, and the extensive business of addresses for and to the workmen, in which manufacture they pandered, of course, to the worst passions, hallucinations and appetites of the vulgar, and to the baleful purposes of the demagogues.

Two of the extremely mischievous incendiary journals of the higher class have just expired. That of *Prudhon*, entitled *Le Représentant du Peuple*, not merely vindicated the insurrection, but urged the mass of small tenants to combine at once in framing a decree, which they could *force* upon the assembly, enacting that all landlords should forego a third of their rents until the year 1851. President Cavaignac crushed the journal by decree. Lamennais has yielded up the ghost for his *Peuple Constituant*, on the allegation that he cannot collect the security-sum which the government resolved to exact. His valedictory is a piece of raving against Cavaignac and all the new masters, akin in violence and venom to the imprecations of Corneille's Camilla on victorious Rome. The ex-priest—nearly threescore and ten—had not a tear or lament for the martyred archbishop, but melted in pity for the savages of the barricades; "the poor people, victims of foreign bribery and domestic starvation." His leading article of the 3d inst. opens thus: "It is more and more evident that the insurrection was only one of those dreadful massacres successively organized by royalty on all points of Europe." He could perceive nothing in it except dire revenge of the foreign and French conspirators, on the heroic agents of the revolution of February. Prudhon and Lamennais are both, you know, members of the assembly, and to this circumstance—if they escape prosecution—they will owe their impunity. Their reputation, vein and dispositions, render them formidable.

*Emile Girardin*, another firebrand, powerful and profligate in his way, has been released; but his *Presse* remains under sequestration. He has promised a pamphlet of explanation and complaint; but not being of the assembly, he is likely to practise silence or caution until martial law be rescinded. Cavaignac had, no doubt, adequate motives for keeping him in solitary confinement twelve long days. In March, the mob were prevented by the authorities from demolishing his



types. A convocation of the stockholders of *La Presse*, representing the property, have addressed a protest to the executive chief, and the president of the assembly. Let me translate for you some of their statements. "Our property is extremely injured by the sequestration. Of seventy thousand subscribers to *La Presse*, fifteen thousand at least, whose subscription expired on the 30th of June, have left us for other papers. The six or seven thousand whose subscription ends on the 16th July, will do the same; thus, and in other modes, we lose about thirty thousand subscribers, whose payments amounted to three hundred thousand francs cash. Twenty editors, twenty-five clerks and bureau agents, seventy correctors and compositors, twenty mechanics and *margers*, sixty carriers, sixty folders, five hundred distributors, are deprived of pay, and of the means of livelihood for their families. The treasury loses two thousand two hundred francs daily, and the paper and ink makers and typefounders a daily consumption of the value of four thousand francs." Is there so large and populous a newspaper establishment in the United States?

Paris, 13 July, 1848.

The sixth of Professor Chevalier's *Studies on the Constitution of the United States* occupies four and a half columns of the *Journal des Débats* of the day before yesterday. He strenuously advocates a senate for France, from American example, and the reasonings of our old political oracles. But he impairs his purpose by assuming too much of a federal character and genius for our general government. Most of the French publicists and legislators persist in regarding our Union as a federation simply or chiefly, and, since French unity is the universal dogma, it is a common idea that no American institution can be applicable to France. Chevalier argues thus—"The present federal government lies principally in a congress. I lay all stress on the word, because it indicates the federal nature of the government of which Washington is the seat, and its affinities with the Swiss diet and the diet at Frankfurt." This truly is not quite profound, whether in polity or etymology. It seems from the votes of the committees of the assembly, that there is a majority, rather large, for a single legislative body. The *réunion* of members at the Palais Royal, purists and old republicans, have come to the same conclusion. There will be a vigorous struggle, however, for a senate when the whole assembly undertake the discussion. Here is a new plan:—

M. Victor Hugo thought that one chamber would suit best in times of revolution, and two in times of peace, but as revolutions were the exception, he considered that two chambers were necessary. He should propose to have the chamber of representatives elected by the departments, and the senate by the whole of France; for the former, it would be necessary to have 2,000 votes at least, and for the latter 100,000 votes. As to the execution of the plan, nothing was more simple—a large building

with wings for separate sittings on ordinary occasions, and a hall in the centre where they could meet on the unusual ones. The whole parliament would consist of 750 members, of whom 500 would form the chamber of representatives, and 250 the senate. The representative was to be elected by the department for three years, and the senator by the whole of France for five years. A fifth part would go out every year, and then every elector would have to draw up a list of 50 each year; thus the chamber of representatives would represent all the local interests, and the senate all the general ones—both, united on grand occasions, would express the will of the whole of France.

Allow me to give you a version of one honest passage of Chevalier's sixth study. "France needs truth, which alone can alleviate her ills. I will, therefore, from love of country, venture to say, most respectfully, that if we are of all nations that which possesses the quickest and liveliest intelligence, we are, at the same time, one of the most ignorant in matters of politics and administration. We know nothing absolutely of what other nations are, and, worse still, we do not know ourselves. If proof were wanting of our lack of political knowledge, I could find an abundance at every stage of our history. Nothing is known that is not studied. Look at the provisional government from whose hands we have just escaped. What a rule, what decrees, what a civil and commercial code, what finances, great God! It was not from perversity that so many false measures were heaped up. The fault was more in little knowledge. The provisional government emptied its shallow store."

In regard to the finances, at the present moment, M. Goudchaux, the minister, a Jew banker, has honestly done his best; but the prospects are scarcely brightened. The loan of a hundred and fifty millions of francs from the Bank of France gratified the whole assembly; a decided contrariety of opinion arose on the conversion of the outstanding exchequer bills, and the savings' funds into government stocks at rates above those of the market. Six hundred millions are added to the funded debt, and there is a partial bankruptcy towards the unlucky possessors of the *Bons du Trésor* and the humbler classes who trusted their savings to the national faith.

A majority of the journals, even the professed champions of order, are restive under the stringent bills—the revival of old monarchical laws—which the executive has submitted to the assembly, for the regulation of the press. Every journal winces because its pockets are touched, and it knows that it may, in order to save its party, become factious in its turn. The legitimist, half-inclined to the triumph of anarchy, which would favor ultimately the alternative of Henry V., chimes, in softer notes, with the few Jacobin organs that survive under martial law. Some console themselves with the reflections—society must dispense with political freedom, when it cannot exist at all save on that condition; a government of principles and guaranties is a fine thing, but if we can

have one of force only, we prefer infinitely the disciplined and protective force of the army to the lawless and destructive rule of the demagogues; the sword of glory is better than the revolutionary pike with its trophies. You may find the just medium in these remarks:

As regards the public we are quite sure that all intelligent persons, who desire liberty without licentiousness, have a strong conviction that, let the form of government be what it may, public tranquillity is impossible with the unrestricted exercise of the means of provocation and excitement. For men to be allowed to write what they please with impunity, a very different state of society from that in which we live is necessary. There must for this be something like respect for laws and institutions in the minds of all writers, and the public must be sufficiently enlightened to distinguish between the honest energy of patriots and the designs of demagogues.

You should have heard the cries and witnessed the aspect of the Mountain or Jacobin group in the assembly, when the bills concerning the press and clubs were read. Old Lamennais crossed his arms on his breast, contracted his diminutive frame, and after casting glances up and on every side, closed his sunken eye, and compressed, indignantly or despairingly, his livid lip. On the very morning he had proclaimed that his paper died with the republic. Flocon, Cremieux, Ledru-Rollin, and other cast-off ministers and their chief associates, flounce or flounder like fish thrown into mire. It is well to offer you an abstract of the club bill:

Any citizens are permitted to open a club, provided they make a preliminary declaration of their intention to the proper authorities—to the prefect of police at Paris, and to the mayor of the commune in the departments, the said declaration must be made at least 48 hours in advance; all the sittings must be public, and, at least a quarter of the seats must be reserved for strangers; a government functionary may be present at all the sittings in a seat especially reserved for him; a procès verbal of the proceedings of each sitting is to be drawn up by president and secretaries; no club can ever resolve itself into a secret committee, nor can any propositions tending to excite disturbance or civil war be brought forward; any one contravening these provisions is to be subjected to a fine of from 100fr. to 500fr., and, if thought necessary, to a suspension of civic rights for a period of one year at least, and three at most. Whoever appears at a club with arms is to be liable to an imprisonment of from three to six months, and to the privation of civic rights of from three to ten years. The tribunals can order the closing of a club when convicted of having contravened any of the above enactments; and, in case of the club meeting after the order of dissolution has been pronounced, the parties so offending are to be liable to an imprisonment of from six months to a year, and to a suspension of civic rights for from five to ten years.

Among the extracts which I enclose, you have some from the proceedings of the national assembly on Tuesday, by which your readers will know at once the present phasis of the revolving French planet. An immense plurality of the legislators

and citizens respond eagerly to the declaration of the executive—that no compromise will be made with the anarchists. Credit and business are re-animating in a small degree by the energetic and resolute demeanor of the government. It wins the more favor, as the disclosures of every day show the anarchical conspiracy to have wider ramifications and a larger body of votaries, in the provinces as well as the capital, than the Paris world supposed. Orders have been transmitted for disarmaments of suspected guards and operatives throughout the country. Cabet relates, in a recent number of his journal, that conflagration was part of the plan of the red republic. It is provided in the programme of the plots detected this week, that the female pupils of the many boarding schools in the faubourgs and precincts, and the daughters of the *bourgeoise*, should be seized and placed on the first or forward barricades to be erected—to afford time for operations behind. The guards and the line would have to stay their fire, though under that of the barricaders. The *National* of this day, breaks a lance for the clubs, allowing, however, for the “excessively difficult and perplexing situation of the government.” This journal and its dynasty are extruded more and more; they cannot entirely dispense with the instrument of their rule in the outset which may be more needed when they have matured new schemes for reconquering Paris. They now harp on their “old democratic programme”—forgotten when they culminated.

My unpretending patriotism was startled in reading in a London paper of the 10th inst. the annexed paragraph:—

MISSION OF MR. MEAGHER TO THE UNITED STATES.—The confederates and their clubs have been working in secret since the passing of the Treason Felony Act. One portion of the plans of the Executive Directory, however, has transpired, namely, the mission of Mr. T. F. Meagher to the United States. There are various rumors as to the object of this move. Some are credulous enough to believe that Mr. Meagher is to join an expedition of sympathizers, from some American port, to rescue John Mitchell from the British authorities at Bermuda; others state that Mr. Meagher is to make a tour of the United States to organize clubs similar to those in Ireland, in order that the Irish confederates may be able to calculate the extent of their resources.

Beware of clubs in the United States. They have chiefly contributed to ruin the cause of liberty in France and Germany, and will do the same in Ireland. Remember those which Genet made it a duty of his mission to organize, and which Washington anathematized. Your general and state governments will, no doubt, resist the formation and action of such cabals, as far and promptly as possible. By insurrection, Ireland would be only plunged into a more horrid gulf of misery and slavery. This opinion has been communicated to me, within the three months past, by Irish gentlemen of extensive observation, who had just before visited nearly the whole surface of the island, with as

lively sympathy for Irish wrongs and sufferings, and as patriotic an alacrity to engage in any *practicable* scheme of redress, as can be felt or manifested by any zealot of the associations or the clubs. Military expeditions from your ports will be arrested, of course. It is exuberant that the mayor of New York presided, and other American public functionaries have officiated, at public meetings with reference to Ireland and hostility to Great Britain. Let not the agitators of other lands—whose real purposes you cannot understand, whose means you cannot estimate, and the results of whose enterprises you cannot foresee, or you may expect to prove disastrous—let them not count upon the American people; who best serve mankind, humanity and liberty, by an unmixed example of order, freedom, prosperity, with the policy of peace, and honest observance of international law and domestic statute. That example, a safe refuge and personal welfare on your soil, your money—if you must lavish it—for the relief of the foreigners who arrive to live among you; generous and discriminating sentiments, are quite enough for you to offer to Europe, especially as adventure abroad could be of no avail to the oppressed, and would certainly prejudice your own present and future interests.

Yesterday afternoon the assembly were occupied mainly with reports on petitions. No business of importance was transacted. The draft of the constitution engages the bureaux; but, as a philosopher writes—"Never have the clauses of any constitution prevented the usurpation or establishment of power resulting from the nature of men and the nature of circumstances." We learn by telegraph, that on the 7th inst. the Pope recognized the French republic. Private letters mention that the health of Pius is sensibly impaired. A deep and salutary sensation has been produced throughout Germany, by the Paris insurrection of last month and its issues. Berlin was disturbed on the 8th by *attroupements* of the rabble. Lyons and Marseilles are under hourly alarms. It is feared that the Austrians will soon be able to resume the offensive in Italy, and that the ominous dissensions of the Italians may increase. The committee of the French national assembly, on foreign affairs, has just considered the Italian question. Lamartine pleads for non-intervention still, in conformity with his admirable manifesto of neutrality. Our quidnuncs speculate with presage of evil on the entrance of the 25,000 Russian troops into the Danubian provinces; which stops a revolution of liberalism in Wallachia. A secret treaty between Nicholas and the Porte is surmised. An alliance of Great Britain, France and Turkey against the czar comes to us, as a project, from Constantinople. The mayor of Paris has issued his report on the city finances; one half of the revenue survives; the octroi is nearly barren; of the seventeen and a half millions of francs deposited and owned in the treasury, on the 24th February, by the municipal government, independently of nine millions bestowed on the poor in 1847, there

remain only *four* millions! which will be exhausted in August next. A loan of twenty-five millions is suggested as a necessary expedient.

THE following from the *Dublin Nation*, though feminine by signature, has the rough ring of Irish "Felony" about it:—*N. Y. Tribune*.

DOWN BRITANNIA.—BY EVA.

Down, Britannia!—brigand, down!  
No more to rule with sceptred hand;  
Truth raises o'er thy throne at last  
Her exorcising wand.  
I see "the fingers on the wall"—  
The proud, the thrice accursed, shall fall—  
Down, Britannia, down!

*Jubilate!*—rings the cry  
Exultingly from pole to pole,  
With bended knee and glistening eye,  
Glad shouts of triumph roll.  
*To paan!*—raise the song!  
From sea to shore it sweeps along—  
Down, Britannia, down!

For cold deceit through long, long years,  
For iron rule with blood-stained sword,  
For brave man's life and woman's tears,  
For basely broken word,  
There comes a loud terrific voice,  
Bidding the long oppressed rejoice—  
Down, Britannia, down!

The golden sands of Indian clime—  
The China towers of old Peking,  
Have seen the desolating print  
Of thy dark hoof of sin;  
And, ground and plundered to the death,  
Their children cry, with latest breath,  
Down, Britannia, down!

Still wailing at the Eternal Gate,  
See myriad bloody spectres stand;  
They cry aloud, through night and day,  
Against thy bloody hand,  
For "Vengeance! vengeance dark and dire!  
O Lord of Glory, show thine ire!  
Down with Britannia, down!"

Yes! down—if Heaven will aid the brave;  
If life and strength have but *this* aim,  
Accounting blood and toil as nought,  
So trampled be thy name.  
God grant to us the final blow,  
Unto the dust to strike thee low.  
Down, Britannia, down!

For this have heroes fought and bled;  
For this have pined in exile lone;  
For this the gallows bore its fruit,  
And yet it has not won;  
But, oh! 't is worth a struggle yet,  
Though every hearth with blood were wet!  
Down, Britannia, down!

When *banded* are the good and true,  
We know at last *the word* is said;  
We march along the glorious way,  
By heavenly teaching led.  
Oh! 't is at last the holy hour  
For all to cry, with prophet power,  
Down, Britannia, down!



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PROSPECTUS.—This work is conducted in the spirit of Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature, (which was favorably received by the public for twenty years,) but as it is twice as large, and appears so often, we not only give spirit and freshness to it by many things which were excluded by a month's delay, but while thus extending our scope and gathering a greater and more attractive variety, are able so to increase the solid and substantial part of our literary, historical, and political harvest, as fully to satisfy the wants of the American reader.

The elaborate and stately Essays of the *Edinburgh Quarterly*, and other Reviews; and *Blackwood's* noble criticisms on Poetry, his keen political Commentaries, highly wrought Tales, and vivid descriptions of rural and mountain Scenery; and the contributions to Literature, History, and Common Life, by the sagacious *Spectator*, the sparkling *Examiner*, the judicious *Athenaeum*, the busy and industrious *Literary Gazette*, the sensible and comprehensive *Britannia*, the sober and respectable *Christian Observer*; these are intermixed with the Military and Naval reminiscences of the *United Service*, and with the best articles of the *Dublin University*, *New Monthly*, *Fraser's*, *Tail's*, *Ainsworth's*, *Hood's*, and *Sporting Magazine*, and of *Chambers' admirable Journal*. We do not consider it beneath our dignity to borrow wit and wisdom from *Punch*; and, when we think it good enough, make use of the thunder of *The Times*. We shall increase our variety by importations from the continent of Europe, and from the new growth of the British colonies.

The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa, into our neighborhood; and will greatly multiply our connections, as Merchants, Travellers, and Politicians, with all parts of the world; so that much more than ever it

now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the condition and changes of foreign countries. And this not only because of their nearer connection with ourselves, but because the nations seem to be hastening through a rapid process of change, to some new state of things, which the merely political prophet cannot compute or foresee.

Geographical Discoveries, the progress of Colonization, (which is extending over the whole world,) and Voyages and Travels, will be favorite matter for our selections; and, in general, we shall systematically and very fully acquaint our readers with the great department of Foreign affairs, without entirely neglecting our own.

While we aspire to make the *Living Age* desirable to all who wish to keep themselves informed of the rapid progress of the movement—to Statesmen, Divines, Lawyers, and Physicians—to men of business and men of leisure—it is still a stronger object to make it attractive and useful to their Wives and Children. We believe that we can thus do some good in our day and generation; and hope to make the work indispensable in every well-informed family. We say indispensable, because in this day of cheap literature it is not possible to guard against the influx of what is bad in taste and vicious in morals, in any other way than by furnishing a sufficient supply of a healthy character. The mental and moral appetite must be gratified.

We hope that, by "winnowing the wheat from the chaff," by providing abundantly for the imagination, and by a large collection of Biography, Voyages and Travels, History, and more solid matter, we may produce a work which shall be popular, while at the same time it will aspire to raise the standard of public taste.

TERMS.—The *LIVING AGE* is published every Saturday, by E. LITTELL & Co., corner of Tremont and Bromfield sts., Boston; Price 12½ cents a number, or six dollars a year in advance. Remittances for any period will be thankfully received and promptly attended to. To insure regularity in mailing the work, orders should be addressed to the office of publication, as above.

Clubs, paying a year in advance, will be supplied as follows:—

Four copies for . . . .	\$20 00
Nine " " . . . .	\$40 00
Twelve " " . . . .	\$50 00

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Any number may be had for 12½ cents; and it may be worth while for subscribers or purchasers to complete any broken volumes they may have, and thus greatly enhance their value.

Binding.—We bind the work in a uniform, strong, and good style; and where customers bring their numbers in good order, can generally give them bound volumes in exchange without any delay. The price of the binding is 50 cents a volume. As they are always bound to one pattern, there will be no difficulty in matching the future volumes.

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Postage.—When sent with the cover on, the *Living Age* consists of three sheets, and is rated as a pamphlet, at 4½ cents. But when sent without the cover, it comes within the definition of a newspaper given in the law and cannot legally be charged with more than newspaper postage, (1½ cts.) We add the definition alluded to:—

A newspaper is "any printed publication, issued in numbers, consisting of not more than two sheets, and published at short, stated intervals of not more than one month, conveying intelligence of passing events."

Monthly parts.—For such as prefer it in that form, the *Living Age* is put up in monthly parts, containing four or five weekly numbers. In this shape it shows to great advantage in comparison with other works, containing in each part double the matter of any of the quarterlies. But we recommend the weekly numbers, as fresher and fuller of life. Postage on the monthly parts is about 14 cents. The volumes are published quarterly, each volume containing as much matter as a quarterly review gives in eighteen months.

WASHINGTON, 27 DEC., 1845.

Of all the Periodical Journals devoted to literature and science which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me to be the most useful. It contains indeed the exposition only of the current literature of the English language, but this by its immense extent and comprehension includes a portraiture of the human mind in the utmost expansion of the present age.

J. Q. ADAMS.